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THE INDIAN LINGUISTIC STOCKS OF OAXACA, MEXICO

By WILLIAM H. MECHLING

INTRODUCTION

IN the year 1886 Dr Antonio Peñafiel collected vocabularies of native languages from all parts of Mexico, but about a third of the total number came from Oaxaca. The volume of these vocabularies that has been printed deals entirely with the well-known Mexican of the Central Plateau region and therefore is of less interest than the rest of the material. With the other four volumes into which Peñafiel divides his manuscripts nothing has been done, although it is hoped that they will soon be published by the Mexican Government. This paper and the accompanying map are based on these vocabularies, which Dr Peñafiel very kindly placed at the disposal of the writer during the winter of 1911-12, when he was the fellow of the Hispanic Society of America in the International School of American Archeology and Ethnology in Mexico City.

As above mentioned, the state of Oaxaca is better represented in this collection than any other. For this reason, and because of the complexity and confusion that exist concerning the linguistic stocks of that state, a study of the numerous vocabularies from this area seemed advisable.

No detailed or accurate map of Oaxaca has yet been published. The map used as a basis for the accompanying linguistic map is a manuscript geological map in possession of the Instituto Geológico of Mexico; this has proved fairly satisfactory, since all but seventeen places have been located on it.

The vocabularies are of two hundred and fifty words each. As they were all collected by different individuals, they are of course recorded with varying degrees of accuracy, and as the recorders had no previous experience in work of this kind, the vocabularies cannot be relied on for the determination of lesser dialectic varia-

tions, consequently it has been impossible in many cases to determine the finer linguistic divisions. In the case of the widespread Zapotecan language it was utterly impossible to determine the dialects, hence the older division of Orozco y Berra must suffice until a careful study of this language has been made.

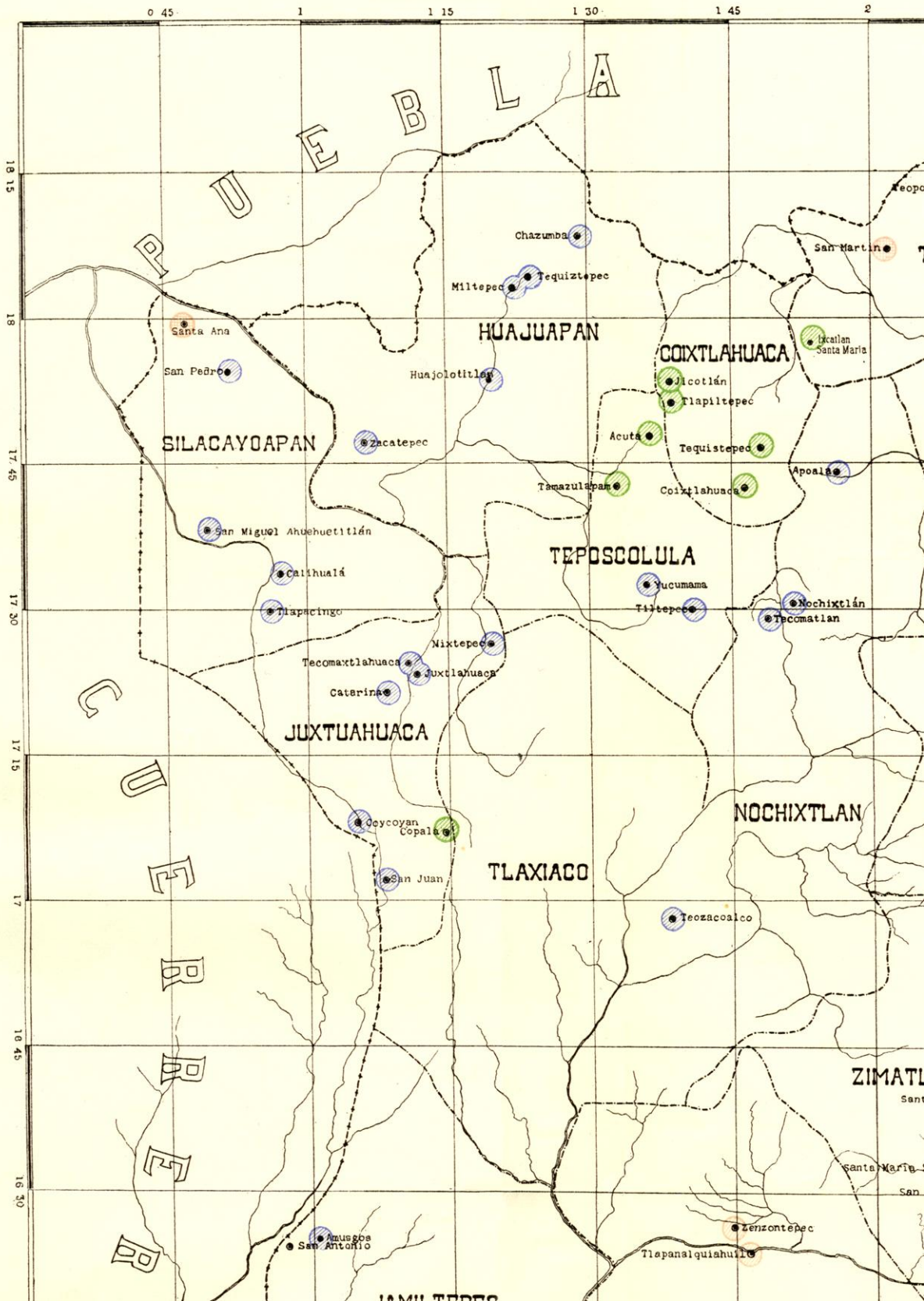
Several maps showing the distribution of the linguistic stocks of Mexico have been hitherto published. The earliest (1864), and in most ways the best, at least for Oaxaca, is the "Carta Etnográfica de México" that accompanies Orozco y Berra's *Geografía de las Lenguas de México*. For the state of Oaxaca the greatest fault lies in the position given to Trique, which Orozco y Berra places in the southeastern part of the state, adjoining Chontal, instead of in the western part, near the Guerrero border.

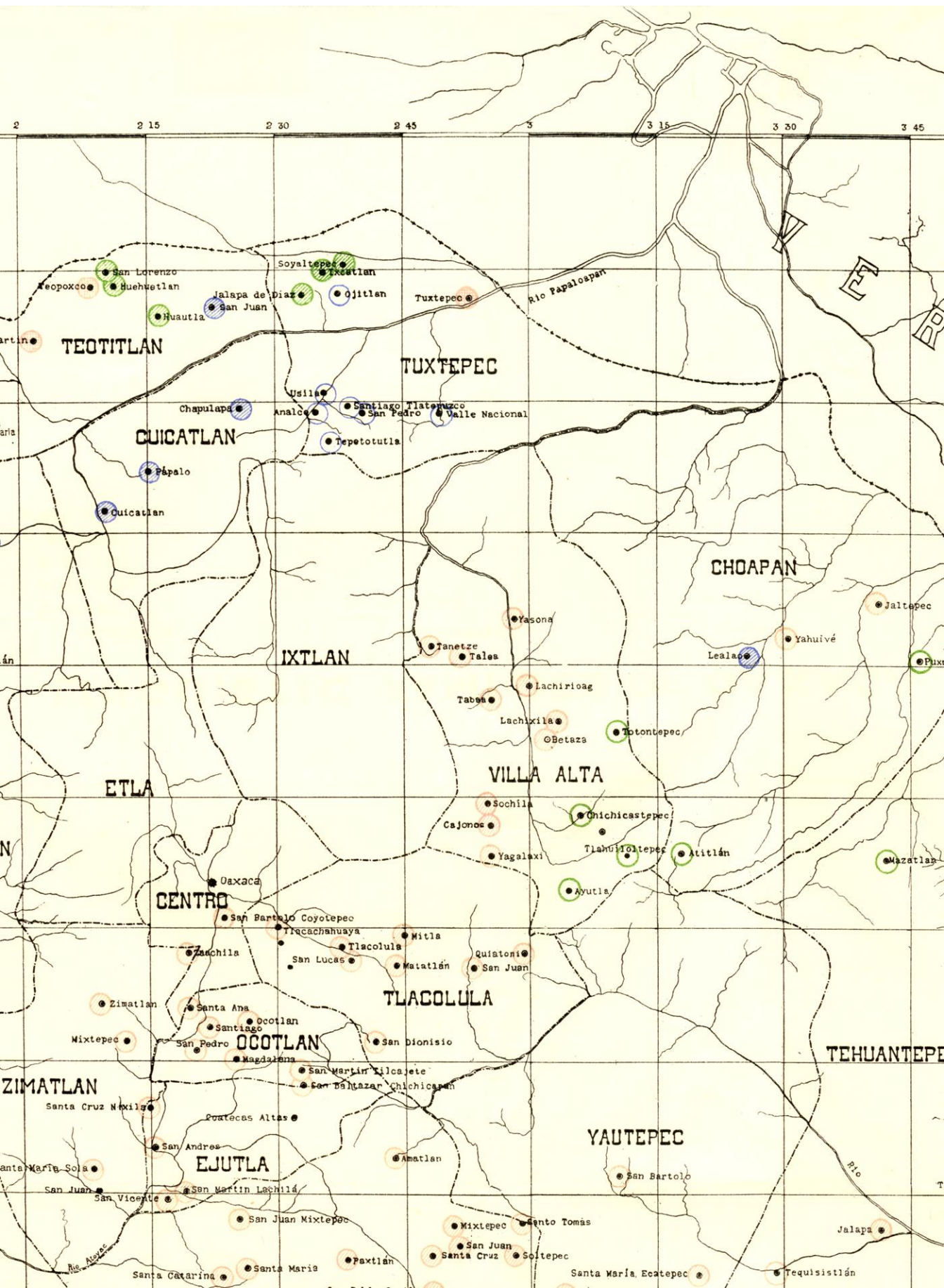
Dr Nicolas León prepared a map which accompanies his paper on the "Familias Lingüísticas de México," published in the *Anales del Museo Nacional* for 1903. For Oaxaca, at least, this map is not so good as that of Orozco y Berra, for the author employs only four different colors, representing respectively the Mixteco-Tzapotecan, Maya-Quichean, Zoque-Mixcan, and Nahuatlan linguistic stocks. Dr León does not give any subdivisions of these on his map, while the Nahuatlan noted thereon is not Mexican, but Chontal.

Swanton and Thomas's map is much better, as it includes several additional stocks and subdivides each stock that consists of more than one language. It is also better than Orozco y Berra's map in respect to the location of Trique.

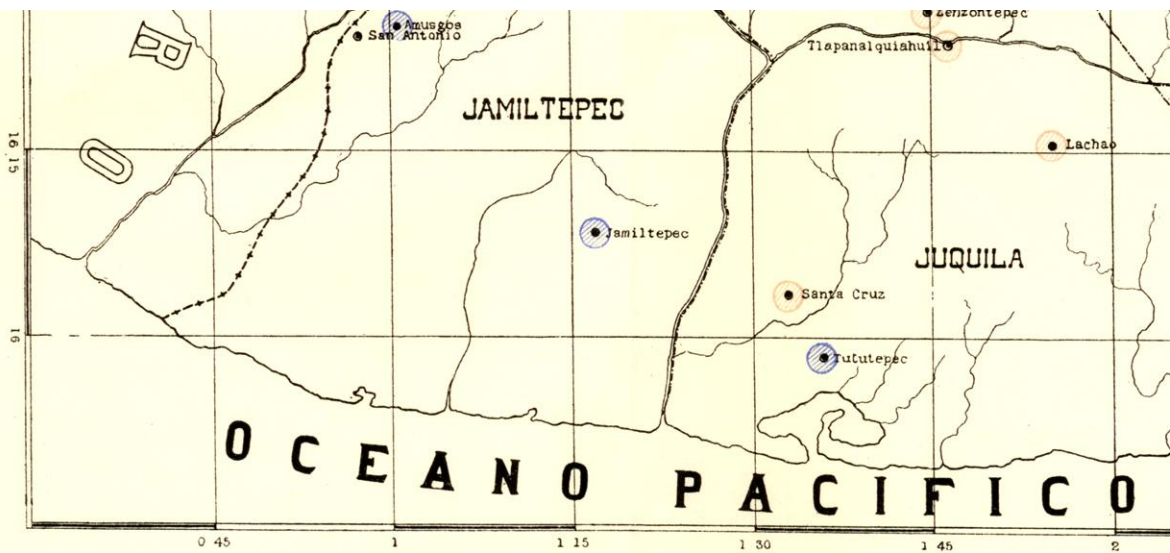
There is also a manuscript map, in possession of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, which bears the title "Linguistic Stocks of the Indians of Mexico and Central America, by F. H. Gerodette, for the World's Columbian Exposition." It is based chiefly on Brinton and lacks many of the details given by Thomas and Swanton.

By far the best map of the languages of Oaxaca is one made by Sr Francisco Belmar for the International Congress of Americanists which met at New York in 1902. It is almost as correct as one could make it by coloring with solid blocks. All the languages are in their proper places and the outlines agree fairly well with those









GROUPS



ZAPOTEGA

- ZAPOTECO
- 1 SOLTECO
- 2 CHATINO



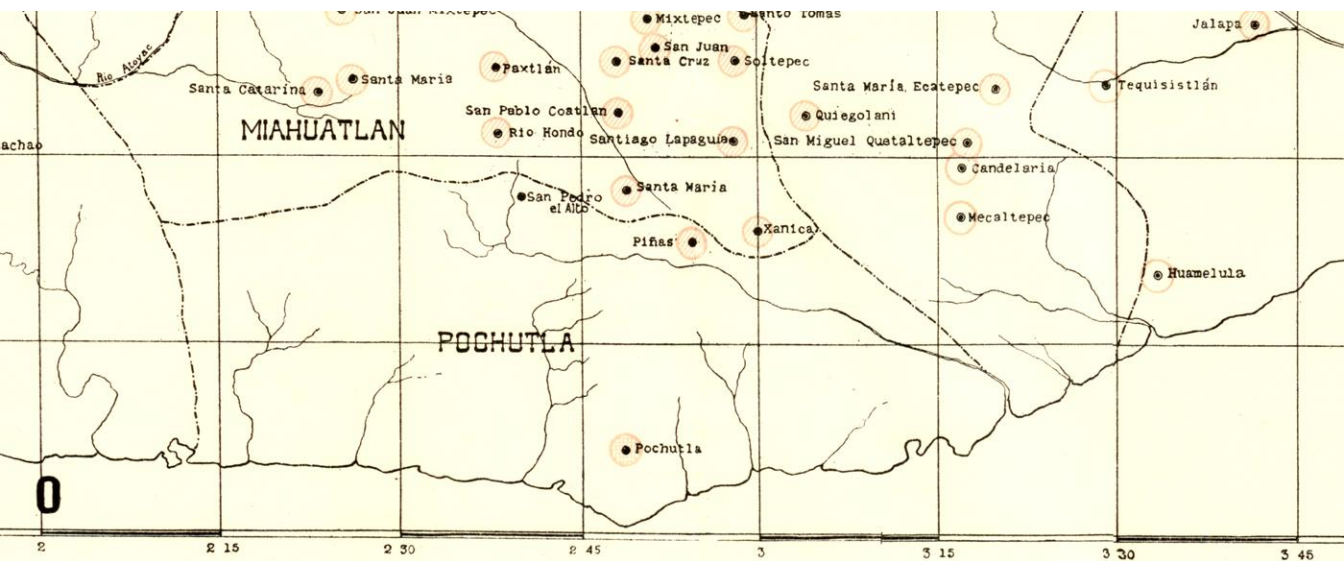
MIXTECA

- MIXTECO
- 1 CUICATECO
- 2 AMUSGO



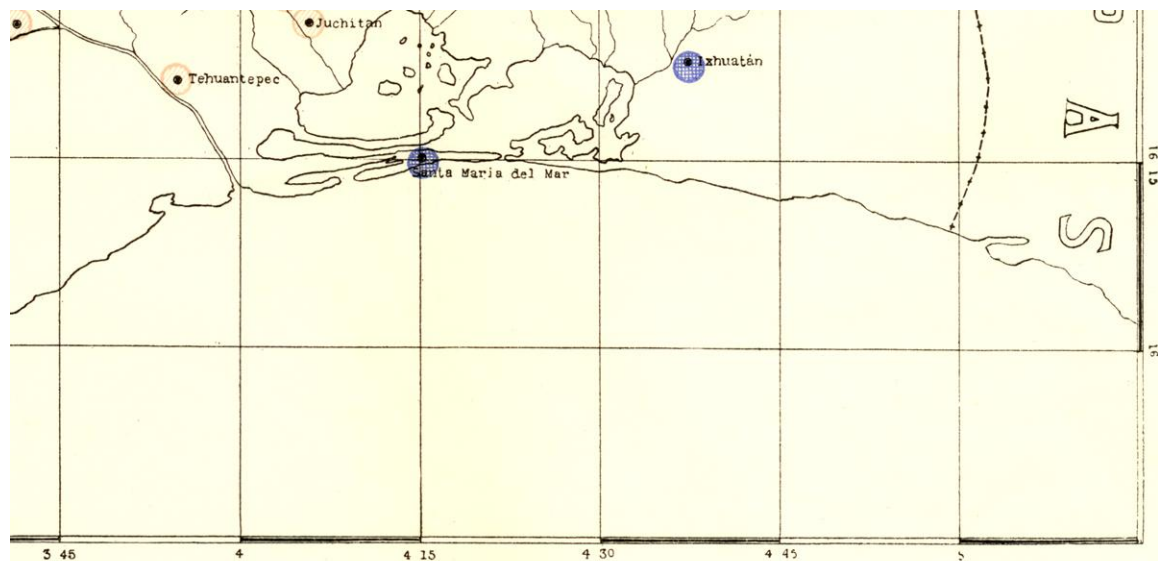
CH

- 1 PO
- 2 MA
- 3 IXG
- 4 TRI



LINGUISTIC FAMILIES OF OAXACA





CA



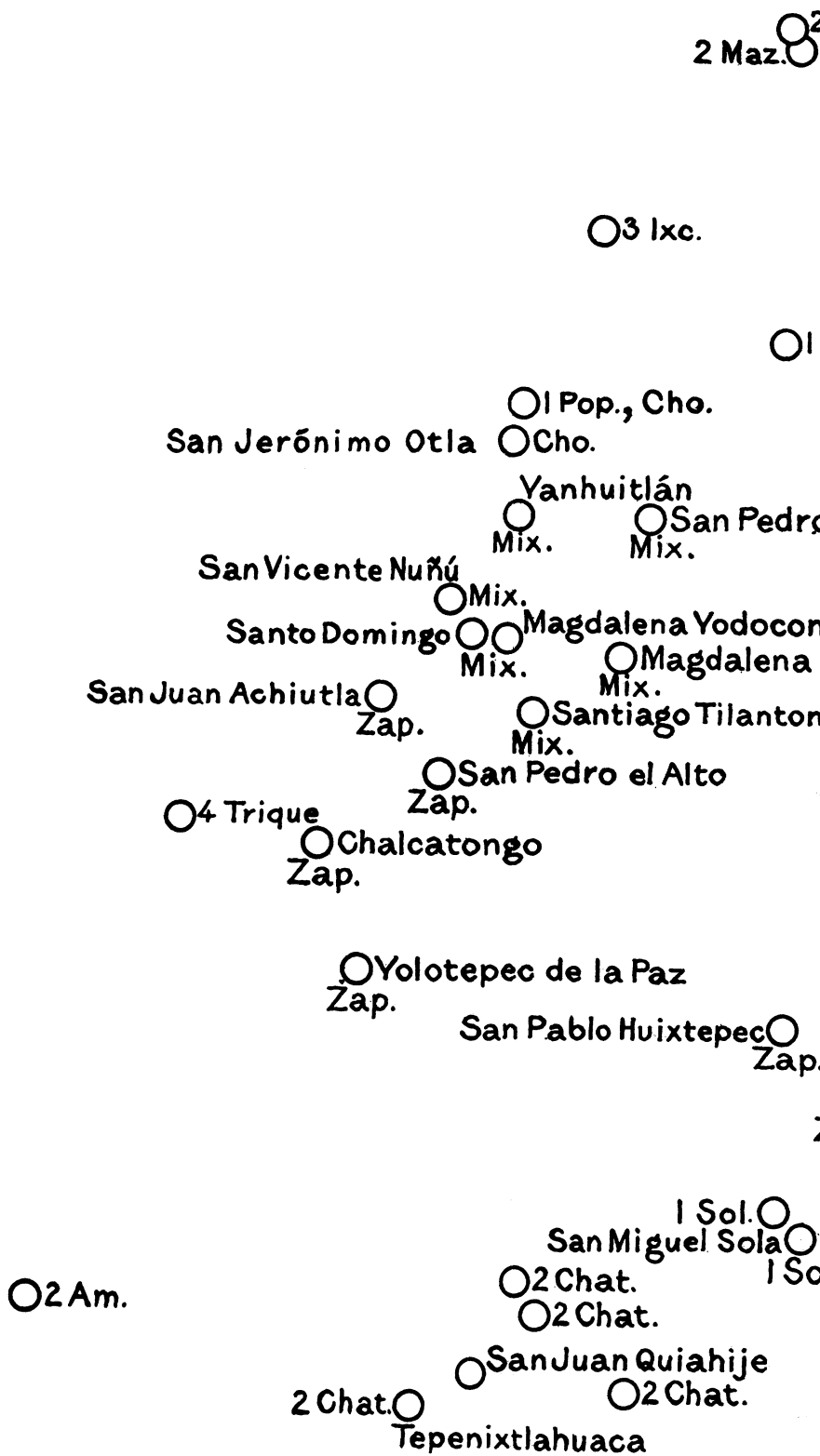
HUAVE
HUAVE



ZOQUE
—MIXE
1 ZOQUE



MEXICANA
MEXICANO



Maz. ○ 2 Maz. 2 Maz. ○ ○ 3 Ixc., 2 Maz.
○
2 Maz. 2 Maz.

1 Cuic. ○

○ 1 Cuic.

○ 1 Cuic.

Pedro Cántaros

docono, Mix.
alena Jaltepec

lantongo

Mixistlán ○ Mixe.

Mixe.

○ Teotitlán del Valle
Zap.

○ Cacalotepec

○ San Miguel Quetzaltepec
Mixe.

Zap. ○ Guelavía

Zap. ○ Santo Tomás Jalieza

Zap. ○ San Miguel Tilquiapán

ec. ○
Zap. ○ Santa Lucía Ocotlán
Zap.

○ Ayoquasco
Zap.

○ Zap.

l. ○
ola ○
1 Sol. Zap. ○ Santa María
Chichihualtepec

Quiechapa
○
Zap.

ije
c.

Zap. ○ ○ Zap.
San Juan Loxicha

epec

○I Zoq.

○I Zoq.

○Unión Hidalgo
Zap.

○San Dionisio
Hua.

○San Mateo
Hua.

Zonati

Zonati

Tepenixtlahuaca

LIN

To be bou

Zap. ○ ○ Zap.
San Juan Loxicha

○ Huatulco
Zap.

LINGUISTIC FAMILIES OF OAXACA

be bound in so as to cover the map (Plate XXXVI) in Volume 14, pages 644-645

San Mateo
Hua.

INDIAN LANGUAGES OF OAXACA

SINCE the map showing the distribution of dialects in Oaxaca, published in Volume XIV, No. 4, of the *American Anthropologist*, was printed, a new map of the State of Oaxaca has been published, by means of which it has been possible to locate a number of villages in which Dr Peñafiel collected vocabularies. These have been entered on the thin fly-leaf accompanying the present number. The only villages that have not been located, and for which vocabularies were collected by Dr Peñafiel, are the following:

District of Coixtlahuaca. Village: Santo Domingo Tepene. (*Popoloco*)
District of Teposcolula. Village: Santo Domingo Tlatayapan. (*Mixteco*)

It is possible that this place may be the Santo Domingo entered on the map near the boundary of Nochixtlan.

District of Tlacolula. Village: Santa María Albarradas. (*Zapotec*)

There are several villages named Albarradas, but it is not certain which one is meant.

District of Yautepec. Village: Santo Domingo Chontecomatlan. (*Chontal*)

On the map Santa Cruz near 1° 30' longitude, 16° north latitude, and San Miguel Quetaltepec near 3° 15' longitude and 16° 15' latitude, should be canceled.

On the accompanying oversheet the dialects of the various linguistic stocks are also marked.

In the list of Zapotecan towns, on page 654, San Baltasar Chicicapan should be San Baltasar Chichicapan, Jalapae del Estado should be changed to Jalapa del Estado, and Tenetze to Tanetze.

In the list of Mixtecan towns at the bottom of page 655, change Huajotitlan to Haujolotitlan, and on page 656 change Tutupec to Tututepec, and San Vincent Nuñu to San Vicente Nuñu.

In the list of Mazatacan towns on page 666, Huchuetlan should read Huehuetlan.

In the list of Mixe towns on page 675, Puxmeteca should be Puxmetecán.

In the list of Zapotecan towns given on page 679, in the District of Villa Alta, change Tabag to Tabaa. On the same page, under Solteco,

should be *Distrito de Villa Alvarez*, (*Zimatlán*)—and not *Distrito de Villa-Alvarez* (*Zimatlan*).

In the list of Mixtecan towns on page 680, in the Distrito de Nochixtlan, Tecomatlan San Miguel is one town, not two. On the same page, under Mazatecan, should be Distrito de Teotitlan, not Teototlan; and San Lorenzo Cuaunelcuilitla is the name of one town, not two.

In the list of Mixe towns, Puxmetacan should be Puxmetecán.

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we obtained by marking every village from which Dr Peñafiel procured a vocabulary. The only omission noted is that of the Mexican spoken in Pochutla. Belmar marks the other two places where this language is spoken.

In making the present map the writer has not employed solid blocks of coloring, as this method inevitably results in error, but each village has been colored according to the language therein spoken. The result is interesting, for it shows quite clearly that there are many areas that can not be said to belong to any continuous linguistic district, since villages in which various languages are spoken are scattered through them. It would be erroneous, for example, to color the area around Tuxtepec as Mexican, as Sr Belmar does, for only Tuxtepec is Mexican, while the surrounding villages are Chinantec and in all probability have been for at least several centuries, as we know by documents written soon after the conquest. It would also be incorrect to color any extensive area around Pochutla as Mexican—this immediate area Sr Belmar has not colored at all. This intersprinkling of villages is shown quite as clearly in the case of some of the languages other than Mexican, as can be seen by examining the map; and there will undoubtedly be more instances of it when additional work has been done.

CLASSIFICATIONS OF OAXACA STOCKS

Great confusion exists concerning the linguistic stocks of Oaxaca. There are as many variations as there are authors who have treated the subject.

OROZCO Y BERRA'S CLASSIFICATION

Orozco y Berra, our best authority on the distribution of the languages of Mexico, classifies the stocks of Oaxaca as follows:

- I. Familia Mexicana, Mexicano.
- II. Familia Huasteca-Maya-Quiché.
 1. Chontal.
- III. Familia Mixteca-Zapoteca.
 1. Mixteco.
 2. Chocho.
 3. Amusgo.
 4. Zapoteco.
 5. Cuicateco.

He was unable to classify Zoque, Huave, Mixe, Trique, Chinanteco, Mazateco, Chatino, Papabuco, and Solteco, and no lexical or morphological proofs are presented to support his classification of languages into the above-named families. Quotations giving the opinions of others are his only evidences.

PIMENTEL'S CLASSIFICATION

In the second edition of his *Cuadro Descriptivo y Comparativo de las Lenguas de México* (Mexico, 1874), Pimentel gives the following division of the families of Mexico:

I. Familia Mixteco-Zapoteco.

1. Mixteco.
2. Zapoteco.
3. Chuchon.
4. Popoloco.
5. Cuicateco.
6. Chatino.
7. Papabuco.
8. Amusgo.
9. Mazateco.

and, as doubtful members, Solteco and Chinanteco.

II. Familia Zoque-Mixe.

1. Mixe.
2. Zoque.

This second family he calls a mixed family, and states that it has some Mexican and some Zapotecan roots. He also says that the grammar is mixed.

III. Familia Chontal.

1. Chontal.

IV. Idiomas oriundos de Nicaragua.

1. Huave.

V. Familia Mexicana.

1. Mexicano.

LEÓN'S CLASSIFICATION

In 1902 Dr León published his *Familias Lingüísticas de México*, in which he groups the languages of Oaxaca into the following families:

1. Familia Nahuatlana.
 1. Chontal de Oaxaca.
2. Familia Zoque-Mixeana.
 1. Zoque.
 2. Mixe.
3. Familia Mixteco-Tzapotecana.
 1. Mixteco.

Dialects nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11.

Tepuzculano, Amusgo, Mixteco bajo, Mixteco monta-
ñaes, Chocho ó Popoloco, Trique, Cuicateco,
Mazateco é Izcateco.
 2. Tzapoteco: Nexicho, Serrano del Valle, Miahuateco,
Benixono ó Vijano, Tehuantepecano, Chatino, Solteco,
Chinanteco, Papabuco ó Elotepeco.

On the authority of Belmar,¹ León includes Triki and Chocho in the Mixteco-Tzapotecana family. Respecting Chinantecan, he says: "La lengua Chinanteca de Oaxaca debe incluirse en la familia Mixteco-Tzapotecana, y no formala por sí, como pretende Brinton."² However, since León does not present proofs of his statement, we must still follow Brinton's classification.

BRINTON'S CLASSIFICATION

In *The American Race* (Philadelphia, 1901), Brinton classifies the stocks of Mexico, including those of Oaxaca. His classification follows:

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Uto Aztecan. | 3. Zoque. |
| Nahuatlan. | Chimalapas. |
| 2. Zapotec-Mixtec. | Mixes. |
| Amusgos. | Tapijulapanes. |
| Chatinos. | Zoques. |
| Chuchonas. | 4. Chinantec. |
| Cuicatecos. | 5. Tequistlatecan. |
| Mazatecos. | 6. Huave. |
| Mixtecos. | |
| Papabucos. | |
| Soltecos. | |
| Zapotecos. | |

¹ *Ensayo sobre la Lengua Triki*, Oaxaca, 1897. *El Chocho*, Oaxaca, 1899.

² Brinton, *Observations on the Chinotec Language of Mexico*, 1892.

In a later work Brinton classifies Mazatec with Chapanec; this would make a seventh stock.

BELMAR'S CLASSIFICATION

Belmar classifies the languages of Oaxaca in his *Familia Mixteco-Zapoteca y sus Relaciones con el Otomí—Familia Zoque-Mixe-Chontal-Huave y Mexicano* (Mexico, 1905). In chapter 13 he gives a list of words to prove the common origin of Zapoteca, Chatina, Papabuco, Chinanteco, Mixteca, Amusgo, Mazateca, Cuicateco, Chuchó, Popoloco, Trique, and Otomí. These words show very little resemblance, and from the evidence presented it does not seem probable that they have a common origin. Indeed Belmar acknowledges that in many cases there is but slight resemblance, and he relies chiefly on remote morphological similarities to establish the relationships. His second family is Maya-Huave and his third is Chontal-Mexican.

THOMAS AND SWANTON'S CLASSIFICATION

The last work on the subject is *Indian Languages of Mexico and Central America*, by Thomas and Swanton.¹ Only nine pages are devoted to the languages of Oaxaca. They are there classified into the following families:

- | | |
|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Zapotecan. | 2. Chinantecan. |
| 1. Mixteco. | 1. Chinanteco. |
| 2. Chocho. | 3. Zoquean. |
| 3. Amusgo. | 1. Mixe. |
| 4. Chatino. | 2. Zoque. |
| 5. Trike. | 4. Tequistlan. |
| 6. Mazateco. | 1. Chontal. |
| 7. Cuicateco. | 5. Huavean. |
| 8. Zapoteco. | 1. Huave. |

Although in this classification the authors include Zapotec and Mixtec as members of the same family, they devote two pages later in the book to proofs that they should be regarded as distinct.

¹ *Bulletin 44, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1911.*

Even though the material at their disposal was not sufficient to prove that the two languages mentioned belong to different families, a very good case is presented and the burden of proof lies with those who claim that they are one. In view of this it appears advisable to keep for the present the old Mixteco-Zapotec stock divided into two separate groups.

THE PRESENT CLASSIFICATION

Intensive studies of the morphology and vocabularies of all of the languages of Oaxaca are necessary before we can know definitely how many stocks there really are and the members of each. Owing to lack of knowledge of the morphology of all of these languages, with the exception of Zapotec, any attempt to classify them on a morphological basis is impossible.

When this study was commenced it was the author's intention to prepare a map showing the distribution of the languages, indicating, where possible, such dialectic differences as were shown by the vocabularies. It was found, however, that in most cases the vocabularies were not recorded with sufficient accuracy to enable the determination of these differences, having been made by individuals without previous experience in work of this kind. They of course used only the letters common to Mexican Spanish, consequently in the following pages, where vocabularies are quoted, it should be borne in mind that *ll* and *y* represent the same sound, namely, a voiced continuant practically equivalent to English *y*. *Gu* and *bu* usually represent *w*, though they may represent *gw* and *bw*. *B* and *v* both represent a bilabial voiced spirant. In every case it is doubtful what *x* represents, for it is employed in Mexico to indicate *jota* (a middle voiceless spirant), English *sh*, and English *x*, and even in some cases *s*. *Z* and *s* represent the same sound, a voiceless sibilant, as does also *c* before *e* and *i*. When this work was commenced the author was unable to obtain most of the works which treat of the languages of Oaxaca, and those that were procurable were written by men who had seen few vocabularies besides Zapotec and Mixtec. It therefore was deemed advisable to make comparisons of all the languages and to divide them into families

on the basis of the resemblances shown in Peñafiel's vocabularies. After this division had been made, all the available literature was examined, but it was not until the author had returned to the United States that it was possible to consult many of the books bearing on the subject. It is gratifying to be able to say that in almost every case the writer has been able to find authoritative support of his classification. But being unable to get the necessary books while in Mexico, access to the vocabularies could not be had when the literature was available. If it had been possible to consult both at the same time, the work would have been greatly facilitated. The following classification is entirely the result of a study of Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies. It does not claim by any means to present the final classification of languages; rather the principle has been followed to keep apart whatever cannot be proved definitely by accessible material to belong together.

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| I. ZAPOTEC. | IV. CHINANTEC. |
| 1. Zapotec. | 1. Chinanteco. |
| 2. Solteco. | V. CHONTAL. |
| 3. Chatino. | 1. Chontal. |
| II. MIXTEC. | VI. HUAVE. |
| 1. Mixteco. | 1. Huave. |
| 2. Cuicateco. | VII. ZOQUE. |
| 3. Amusgo (?). | 1. Zoque. |
| III. MAZATEC. | 2. Mixe. |
| 1. Chocho-Popoloco. | VIII. MEXICAN. |
| 2. Mazateco-Ixcateco. | |
| 3. Trique. | |

I. ZAPOTEC STOCK (*Familia Zapoteca*)

To the Zapotec stock belong Zapotec, Solteco, and Chatino. Pimentel, relying chiefly on morphological resemblances, such as the lack of plural in nouns in both languages, classes Zapotec and Mixtec in the same family. Orozco y Berra, Brinton, León, and Belmar follow his example. In regard to their lexical affinities Pimentel says: "Although Zapotec and Mixtec show close morphological resemblances, still the greater part of their vocabularies are different." He then gives a list of words which he considers alike,

but even these show little resemblance. Brinton considers them as belonging to the same stock. Neither León nor Orozco y Berra gives any proofs. In chapter 12 of his *Lenguas Indígenas de México* Belmar gives a list of words designed to prove the relations of the members of what he considers the Mixteco-Zapotecan stock. From this list he omits all the members of what is herein considered the Zapotecan stock. Müller objected to the classification of Zapotec and Mixtec in the same family, and Thomas and Swanton seem to prove that they belong to different stocks. Since the evidence presented by those who consider them as belonging to the same stock is clearly insufficient, it is best to consider them separate stocks.

To prove the relationship of Solteco, Chatino,¹ and Zapotec, the following brief vocabulary is presented:

	ZAPOTEC	SOLTECO	CHATINO
one	<i>tub</i>	<i>tico</i>	<i>cati</i>
two	<i>chopo</i>	<i>toco</i>	<i>tucua</i>
three	<i>chone</i>	<i>chona</i>	<i>xona</i>
four	<i>tap</i>	<i>taco</i>	<i>tacua</i>
five	<i>gayel</i>	<i>gayo</i>	<i>cayu</i>
six	<i>sopel</i>	<i>xoco</i>	<i>sucua</i>
seven	<i>galle</i>	<i>gache</i>	<i>cati</i>
eight	<i>sone</i>	<i>xoin</i>	<i>suno</i>
nine	<i>gaa</i>	<i>guaa</i>	<i>ca</i>
ten	<i>chi</i>	<i>chii</i>	<i>tii</i>
eleven	<i>chivitubi</i>	<i>chetoco</i>	<i>tiichica</i>
twelve	<i>chivichopa</i>	<i>chima</i>	<i>titucua</i>
twenty	<i>galda</i>	<i>chidia</i>	<i>cala</i>
thirty	<i>galdavichi</i>	<i>chimaltico</i>	<i>calati</i>
forty	<i>chua</i>		<i>tuhua</i>
fifty	<i>chuavichi</i>		<i>tanailati, tohuati</i>
seventy	<i>gayiona viche</i>		<i>xonailatu, chuna yalati</i>
eighty	<i>taa</i>		<i>acuaillae, gaynyala</i>
ninety	<i>taa viche</i>		<i>acnailati</i>
I	<i>na</i>	<i>naa</i>	<i>naa</i>
thou	<i>sui</i>	<i>noo</i>	<i>nooe</i>
me	<i>saille</i>	<i>lecui</i>	<i>yucua</i>
we	<i>sarena</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>naae</i>

¹ See also the notes on Chatino, by Dr Franz Boas, to appear in the next number of this journal.

you	<i>guesana</i>		<i>siignova</i>
they	<i>sebau</i>	<i>lecui</i>	<i>uncua</i>
that one	<i>noudee</i>		<i>yundee</i>
to eat	<i>gabo</i>	<i>gacuiyati</i>	<i>gaeu</i>
to drink	<i>gobo</i>	<i>gay</i>	<i>cooc</i>
to run	<i>guesombo</i>	<i>cuicamer</i>	<i>satucua</i>
to dance	<i>guellena</i>	<i>uyacam</i>	<i>gulaguillaae</i>
to sing	<i>golna</i>	<i>golroy</i>	<i>gutatoana</i>
rain	<i>xsoleguche</i>	<i>saguie</i>	<i>choo</i>
fire	<i>gu</i>	<i>guii</i>	<i>luui</i>
water	<i>nira</i>	<i>lira</i>	<i>yta</i>
land	<i>guig</i>	<i>yoo</i>	<i>yun</i>
sea	<i>nisdoe</i>	<i>rosra</i>	<i>tajoo</i>
river	<i>gueuc</i>	<i>yeco</i>	<i>luieia</i>
lake	<i>chaico</i>	<i>divo</i>	
plain	<i>haviyan</i>	<i>nache</i>	<i>naete</i>
mountain		<i>yayaca</i>	<i>luieaa</i>
island	<i>guchi</i>	<i>yeco</i>	

I. ZAPOTEC

Zapotec is spoken in a large area in the central and southeastern portion of Oaxaca; in fact in almost one-half of the state. There are undoubtedly many dialects, but, as has been already stated, it was not possible to determine them from the material at hand. Orozco y Berra mentions the following: Zapoteco Principal, Zapoteco Nextiza, Zapoteco Serrano de Ixtepeji, Zapoteco Serrano de Cajones, Zapoteco Serrano de Miahuatlan, Zapoteco Tehuantepecano.

Dr Frederick Starr¹ has this to say about the distribution of Zapoteco:

The Zapotecs held an extensive area to the east and west of the old Mixtec territory. They were a powerful tribe and were frequently at war not only with the Mixtecs but also with the Aztecs. At the time of the Conquest they had been suffering more or less degradation at the hands of these powerful foes. Their territory extended from Oaxaca to Tehuantepec and Xoconochco. Garcia y Cubas gave the total Zapotec population in 1876 as 239,600. It must now be considerably greater.

His statement "to the east and west of the old Mixtec territory" is rather ambiguous, especially since he says that "the Mixtec

¹ *Notes upon the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 145.

territory extends eastward from the Pacific coast into the high mountainous country of the interior." His statement that "their territory extended from Oaxaca to Tehuantepec and Xoconochco," however, agrees very well with the area on our map, except that we found scattered Zapotec villages all the way to the border of Guerrero. The area which Orozco y Berra demarcated on his map agrees very well with our area.

Belmar dealt with the distribution thus:

Los zapoteca habitan en el Estado de Oaxaca. Su principal asiento fueron y son actualmente los fértiles valles, que partiendo de la ciudad de antequera se extienden por algunas millas al norte, al sur y al oriente. Las poblaciones de Mitla, Tlacolula, Teotitlán, Tlacochahuaya y Zaachila son centros principales en donde floreció este raza, cuya lengua se consideró como la más culta de los pueblos que la forman. Ocupa también el Istmo de Tehuantepec, distinguiéndose hoy día del resto de las demás razas por sus costumbres especiales y por sus tendencias progresistas. Su idioma, conocido con el nombre de Tehuano, Tehuantepecano, zapoteco de Tehuantepec, ó zapoteco de tierra caliente, es solo un dialecto, en la actualidad en decadencia. En la región montañosa del Norte, confinando con los chinanteca, mazateca y ayook (mixes) se extienden los zapoteca, cuya lengua comprende el zapoteca *nexitza*, ó zapoteco de los pueblos *Rincon*, el zapoteco de los pueblos de Cajones, conocido con el nombre de *Vijano*, y el zapoteco serrano de los pueblos que forman la Sierra Juárez del Distrito de Ixtlán, y hablado con mas pureza en Guelatao, Ixtlán, Ixtepeji, Nexicho, Teococuilco, Analco y Capulalpan. En el serranía del Sur se extiende aun este raza hablando el dialecto *Miahuateco*. Al Sur existe el pueblo de Sola, cuyo nombre dió origen á la denominación de *Solteco*. En la región Suroeste viven los pueblos de Elotepec y otros de lengua zapoteca, conocida con el nombre de Elotepeco ó Papabuco.

We have vocabularies from the following places:

Distrito del Centro:	Distrito de Jamiltepec:
San Bartolo Coyotepec.	San Antonio Ocatlan.
Distrito de Choapin:	Distrito de Juchitan:
Yahuive and Jaltepec.	Juchitan.
Distrito de Ejutla:	Espinal.
Santa Marfa Chichihualtepec.	Union Hidalgo.
Coateces Altas.	Distrito de Miahuatlan:
San Vincente Coatlan.	San Mateo Rio Hondo.
San Martin Lachila.	San Juan Mixtepec.
Santa Cruz Nixila (?)	San Agustin Mixtepec.
San Andreas Sebache.	San Luis Amatlán.

San Pablo Coatlán.	San Dionisio Ocotepec.
Santa María Coatlán.	San Pedro Quiatoni.
San Andreas Paxtlán.	Teotitlan del Valle.
Santiago Papaguaia.	San Juan Guelavía.
Santiago Xanica.	San Lucas Quiavini.
Santa María Ozoltepec.	Santiago Matatlan.
San Juan Ozoltepec.	Santa María Albarradas.
San Tomás Tamazulapan.	Distrito de Tlaxiaco:
Santa Caterina Cuixla.	San Pedro El Alto.
Santa Cruz Ozoltepec.	Yolotepec de la Paz
Distrito de Ocatlan:	Chalcatongo.
Ocatlan de Morelos.	San Juan.
Santiago Apostol.	Distrito de Villa Alta:
Santa Ana Zegache.	Beltaza.
Ocatlan Magdalena.	Tenetze.
San Baltasar Chicicapan.	Talea.
San Pedro Apostol.	Lachiroag.
Santa Lucía Ocatlan.	Tabaa.
San Miguel Tilquiapan.	Yazona.
Santa Tomás Jalieza.	San Francisco Cajonos.
San Martín Tilcajete.	Zoochila.
Distrito de Pochutla:	Xagalaxi.
Piñas San Mateo.	Lachixila Vijanos.
San Juan Loxicha.	Distrito de Zimatlán:
Distrito de Tehuantepec:	Zimatlán.
Tehuantepec.	Santa María Zachila.
Tlacotepec.	Huixtepec.
Jalapae del Estado.	Santa Cruz Mixtepec.
Distrito de Tlacolula:	Ayoquezco.
Tlacolula de Matemoros.	Distrito de Yautepec:
Villa de Mitla.	San Bartolo Yautepec.
San Pablo Mitla.	Santa María Asunción Quiegolani.
Tlacoahuaya.	Quichapa.
San Juan Teitipec.	

2. SOLTECO

Solteco is represented by one vocabulary from San Miguel Sola in the district of Zimatlán. Concerning this language Orozco y Berra says:

Tambien entre los chatinos, y particular del pueblo de Sola. No conocemos su filiacion etnográfica, y nos figuramos que pertenecerá, así como el papabuco, á tribus antiguas que se están extinguiendo.

Pimentel has nothing further to offer, but speaking of Mazateco and Solteco he says:

Las noticias que sobre ellas he recibido me hacen creer que pertenecen á la familia Mixteco-Zapoteco.

Thomas and Swanton make no mention of the language.

3. CHATINO

Of the third language of the Zapotecan stock, Chatino, Peñafiel has vocabularies from the following places of the District of Juquila:

San Juan Quiahije.

Santa María Tlapanalquiahuitl.

Santa Cruz Tepenixtlahuaca.

San Juan Lachao.

Zensontepec.

Orozco y Berra says:

En los Departamentos del Centro y de Jamiltepec, entre el zapoteco y el mixteco. No hemos encontrado datos para clasificarla.

In the list of places where it is spoken he gives San Miguel Sola, the only place from which we have a Soltecan vocabulary.

Pimentel says:

Respecto al Chatino y al Papabuco tengo un buen dato para considerarlos afines del Mixteco, y es la noticia que sobre esto me ha dado una persona ilustrada y de buen criterio que visitó el Estado de Oaxaca, haciendo observaciones sobre los idiomas y las costumbres de sus habitantes.

II. MIXTEC STOCK (*Familia Mixteca*)

The two languages Mixteco and Cuicateco undoubtedly belong to this stock. The former occupies a large area in the western part of Oaxaca and the adjoining neighborhood in Guerrero.

I. MIXTECO

Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies come from the following places:

District of Huajapan:

Huajotitlan.

Miltepec Santiago.

Santiago Chazumba.

San Martin Zacatepec.

Tequistepec.

District of Jamiltepec:	Magdalena Jaltepec.
Jamiltepec.	Apoalo Santiago.
District of Juquila:	Teozacoalco San Pedro.
Tutupec.	San Pedro Cantaros.
District of Juxtlahuaca:	Tecomatlan San Miguel.
Juxtlahuaca.	District of Silacayoapan:
San Juan Mixtepec.	Calihuacía.
Tecomaxtlahuaca.	San Pedro.
San Juan Lagunas.	San Miguel Ahuehuetitlan.
Santiago Coycoyan.	Tlapacingo San Francisco.
Santa Caterina Noltepec.	District of Teotitlan:
District of Nochixtlan:	San Juan Coatzopan.
Nochixtlan.	District of Teposcolula:
Yanhuitlan.	San Vincent Nuñu.
Santo Domingo.	San Pedro Martin Yocunana.
Yodocono Magdalena.	Tlatayapan.
Tilantongo Santiago.	Santa María Tiltetepec.

The Mixteco language does not cover a continuous area; the people speaking it are scattered among the villages of the Mazatecan, Zapotecan, and Chinantecan stocks. The area represented by our vocabularies is practically the same as that given by Orozco y Berra—in fact virtually all the towns are given in his list. In describing the area occupied by the Mixtecs, Dr Starr observes:

The country occupied by the Mixtecs extends eastward from the Pacific Coast into the high mountain country of the interior. Their territory lies within the States of Guerrero, Puebla, and Oaxaca, but chiefly in the last. It is commonly divided into two districts—the *Mixteca Alta*, or high Mixteca, and the *Mixteca Baja*, or low Mixteca. In 1876 Garcia y Cubas set the number of Mixtecs at 220,000. The present population must be considerably greater.

Belmar marks an area on his map which corresponds roughly to the one given by Starr. It is only approximately correct, for Peñafiel has vocabularies from the places which Belmar has marked Chatino, Chocho, and Mazateco. The description which he gives of their area in *Lenguas Indígenas de México* is a good one. It is as follows:

Al lado de los *zapoteca* y en la región occidental del Estado de Oaxaca se encuentran los *mixteca*, que se extienden desde el Estado de Puebla hasta el de Guerrero. . . . En el Estado de Oaxaca, su centro principal, se introdujo esta tribu, en los tiempos pasados, en el valle, bajando de las altas montañas de su

recidencia primitiva para estar casi envuelta por los zapoteca y establecer los pueblos de Xoxo, Cuilapan, Ixtlahuaca y Tepenixtlahuaca. En los distritos de Zimatlán, Juquila y Jamiltepec confina con los zapoteca y chatinos, y en los distritos que forman propiamente la mixteca confinan con los *triques*, chochos, popolocos de Puebla, amuzgos, cuicateca, chinanteca, mazateca y mexicana.

2. CUICATECO

Cuicateco, the other member of this family, is spoken in the District of Cuicatlan. Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies come from

Cuicatlan.

San Francisco Chapulapa.

Concepción Pápulo.

Orozco y Berra gives all of these villages. Belmar gives the following list of pueblos where the language is spoken:

Distrito de Cuicatlan:

Quiotepec.	Teponaxtla.
Coyula.	Tlacolula.
Jonaltepec.	Tepeusila.
Cotahuisla.	Tutepetongo.
Nacatepec.	Teutila.
Pápalo San Lorenzo.	Santa Cruz Chiquihuitlán.
Pápalo Santa María.	Teotilalpam.
Pápalo Reyes.	Santo Domingo del Río.
Pápalo San Andrés.	Chapulalpa.
Cuyaltepec.	Talistac.

Distrito de Nochixtlan:

Sotula.	Comotlán Santiago.
San Bartolo.	Yololtepec Santa María.
Tlalixtlahuaca San Juan.	Ixtlahuaca Santiago.
Tlaxila Santa Caterina.	Montebolos San Agustin.

Concerning Cuicatlan, from which Peñafiel secured a vocabulary in 1886, Belmar says:

Cuicatlán, cabecera del Distrito de su nombre, preteneció á esta tribu: en la actualidad sólo se habla el idioma castellano.

From this we may infer that Cuicateco passed out of use in Cuicatlan between 1886 and 1902.

All the authors put it in the Mixteco-Zapoteco family, but its exact position has been a matter of doubt. Belmar, however, placed it correctly in 1902. He says:

Examinandos tanto la estructura de la lengua como su diccionario, se descubre su inmediata relación con el mixteco, como lo demostraré al tratar de este último idioma.

The relationship between Cuicateco and Mixteco can be seen from a consideration of the following brief list of words:

	MIXTECO	CUICATECO
uno	<i>yi</i>	<i>ama</i>
dos	<i>yvi</i>	<i>obe</i>
tres	<i>umi</i>	<i>igno</i>
cuatro	<i>cumi</i>	<i>cun</i>
cinco	<i>uu</i>	<i>tun</i>
seis	<i>yno</i>	<i>joo</i>
siete	<i>uxa</i>	<i>ducha</i>
ocho	<i>una</i>	<i>nine</i>
nueve	<i>y</i>	<i>nuu</i>
diez	<i>uxi</i>	<i>dichi</i>
once	<i>uxii</i>	<i>dichi ama</i>
doce		<i>dichi ubi</i>
veinte	<i>oro</i>	<i>duco</i>
yo	<i>yu</i>	<i>u</i>
tu	<i>yoo</i>	<i>di du</i>
el	<i>mera</i>	<i>gicoa enaga</i>
nosotros	<i>meyoo</i>	<i>nuu</i>
vosotros	<i>taingana</i>	<i>nonon</i>
ellos	<i>mecna</i>	<i>mosaa</i>
este	<i>tayo</i>	<i>chuu</i>
viento	<i>tachicano</i>	<i>yinie</i>
trueno	<i>dayidavi</i>	<i>inidavi</i>
relámpago	<i>xincluta</i>	<i>cuac</i>
nieve	<i>yihua</i>	<i>llaan</i>
fuego	<i>ñuu</i>	<i>llaha</i>
agua	<i>tuin</i>	<i>nune</i>
hielo	<i>yihua</i>	<i>hive</i>
tierra	<i>ñuu</i>	<i>taha</i>
mar	<i>tanaa</i>	<i>mimllauu</i>
rio	<i>yuta</i>	<i>gueo</i>
valle	<i>yodocano</i>	<i>yudu chaell</i>
llano	<i>llodoc</i>	<i>lludu</i>
cerro	<i>yucu</i>	<i>gicuquian</i>
piedra	<i>yuu</i>	<i>yuhu</i>
lluvia	<i>cuachidavi</i>	<i>cubi</i>

3. AMUSGO

Dr Peñafiel has only one Amusgo vocabulary, which is difficult to read and seems to have been carelessly recorded. It has not been possible to determine its affiliation from this vocabulary, although some of the words show similarity to Mixtec. For the sake of convenience, I have marked it on my map as belonging to the Mixtec language. It is usually classed as a member of the Mixtec-Zapotec family. Orozco y Berra calls it a sister language of Mixtec. His words are:

Lengua hermana del mixteco. Con el nombre de *amuchco* la encontramos nombrada en los manuscritos del Sr. García, y con el de *amusgo* en la relacion de los curatos de Oaxaca: ambas palabras son sinónimas.

Pimentel is plainly in error when he says:

Los informes adquiridos por, el Sr. Orozco y Berra (*Geografía de las Lenguas de México*) que juzgo de buen origen le hicieron colocar, como yo tambien lo hago, al Cuicateo con el mixteco, y al Amusgo con el Zapoteco.

The most complete study of Amusgo was made by Sr Belmar, who, in 1901, published his *Investigación sobre el Idioma Amuzgo*. In this work he says concerning its affiliation:

El Amuzgo es una de las lenguas aglutinantes más fáciles de estudiar y pertenece á las lenguas que forman la familia mixteco-zapoteca. Es digno de observar, sin embargo, que en el fondo se acerca más á la lengua zapoteca, y en su parte léxica al mixteco. Así el Amuzgo reconoce cuatro conjugaciones, esto es, cuatro grupos de verbos determinados en el pasado por los prefijos ta, te, ti, to ó tu, y el zapoteco reconoce igualmente los prefijos ta, te, ti, to, to ó ra, re, ri, ro, para el presente de indicativo.

Por lo demás la gramática del Amuzgo y su diccionario se corresponden manifestando su afinidad sin esfuerzo alguno con el mixteco, por lo que omito hacer en el presente estudio comparaciones que me reservo al publicar el examen de la lengua mixteca.

Whether Sr Belmar has published the above-mentioned work on Mixtec the writer is unable to say, though it is supposed that he has not, for no such work has been found in either Mexico or the United States. Indeed it was not possible to obtain any of Belmar's grammars in Mexico.

Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies of Amusgo are from the pueblo of San Pedro Amuzgos in the District of Jamiltepec. Sr Belmar's

description of the distribution of the Amusgo villages is undoubtedly correct. It is as follows:

Los pueblos que en el Estado de Oaxaca forman la nación ó raza Amuzga se reducen á los de San Pedro Amuzgos, San Francisco Sayultepec [*sic*], Cacahuastepec y Santa María Ipalapa, pertenecientes al Distrito de Jamiltepec. Los demás pueblos se hallan en el Estado de Guerrero.

Orozco y Berra makes no mention of Amusgo in the state of Oaxaca. It is interesting to note that Belmar states that it has a pitch accent of etymological significance, thus adding one more language to the list of American languages with pitch accents, a characteristic which a few years ago was not supposed to exist in North America. The languages in Mexico using it are, Chatino, Chinanteco, Otomí, and Amusgo. The entire vocabulary from San Pedro Amuzgos follows:

Vocabulary from San Pedro Amuzgos

Dios	<i>Tiopsun</i>	Mi hermano mayor	<i>Siosaatiguche</i>
Sacerdote	<i>Tec</i>	Mi hermano menor	<i>Tajaalluchoa</i>
Templo	<i>Huaschua</i>	Mi hermana mayor	<i>Saasatigue</i>
Hombre	<i>Sansaha</i>	Mi hermana menor	<i>Tu jo</i>
Mujer	<i>Zancutin</i>	Indio	<i>Sanguie</i>
Muchacho	<i>Yuchoo</i>	Gente	<i>Zaha</i>
Muchacha	<i>Yuscuchoo</i>	Cabeza	<i>Sichyinen</i>
Niño ó niña	<i>Yusaadaa</i>	Pelo	<i>Sochquen</i>
Mi padre, dice el		Cara	<i>Noho</i>
hijo	<i>Tu</i>	Frente	<i>Sohosta</i>
Mi padre, dice la		Oreja	<i>Sonquihe</i>
hija	<i>Dahaa</i>	Ojo	<i>Tauno</i>
Mi madre, dice el		Boca	<i>Doo</i>
hijo	<i>Naa Doho</i>	Lengua	<i>Saha</i>
Mi madre, dice la		Dientes	<i>Sinuhoo</i>
hija	<i>Naa Doho</i>	Barba	<i>Sochisuaa</i>
Mi marido	<i>Zahaa</i>	Cuello	<i>Sostoo</i>
Mi esposa	<i>Zascuaa</i>	Brazo	<i>Nacajunscuaa</i>
Mi hijo, dice el		Mano	<i>Nayimdoo</i>
padre	<i>Daa' Yoscuaa</i>	Dedo pulgar	<i>Yuethiinat</i>
Mi hijo, dice la		Uñas	<i>Soneti</i>
madre	<i>Daa Yoscuaa</i>	Cuerpo	<i>Situhu</i>
Mi hija dice el		Pecho	<i>Sindaa</i>
padre	<i>Da Yscu</i>	Barriga	<i>Sihaa</i>
Mi hija dice la		Pechos de mujer	<i>Sicuhui</i>
madre	<i>Ni lluja jaachijoo</i>	Pierna	<i>Tecuhi</i>

Pié	<i>Chiaguhi</i>	Llano	<i>Luctulla</i>
Dedos del pié	<i>Daaquie</i>	Cerro, montana	<i>Tuaa Lindaa</i>
Hueso	<i>Singuie</i>	Isla	<i>Huachaniuduaa</i>
Corazon	<i>Sohoa</i>	Piedra, roca	<i>Sojoh</i>
Sangre	<i>Niunt</i>	Sal	<i>Sachajat</i>
Pueblo, villa, aldea	<i>Chu ju</i>	Cobre	<i>Cojohugue</i>
Jefe	<i>Sumachia</i>	Plata	<i>Sup</i>
Guerrero	<i>Saucuaju</i>	Oro	<i>Sunja</i>
Cuna	<i>Dudoschoo</i>	Bosque, selva	<i>Tomab Tomat</i>
Casa	<i>Huachioo</i>	Arbol	<i>Huichutomat</i>
Choza, casa de		Madera	<i>Suchundiasun</i>
paja	<i>Huangio</i>	Hoja	<i>Sucoo</i>
Sepulcro	<i>Sinduit</i>	Corteza	<i>Suchuma</i>
Caldera	<i>Tuncutiusui</i>	Yerba	<i>Sondaa</i>
Arco	<i>Satep</i>	Maíz	<i>Naá</i>
Canoa	<i>Sondoo</i>	Frijol	<i>Dahe</i>
Guarache cacle ó		Calabaza	<i>Siquen</i>
zapato	<i>Ducuu</i>	Chile, pimienta	<i>Sichaa</i>
Pipa	<i>Yusha Linnutaa</i>	Carne	<i>Sipsondu</i>
Tabaco	<i>Susconu</i>	Murcielago	<i>Luechojun</i>
Cielo	<i>Lucunudue</i>	Perro	<i>Luechee</i>
Sol	<i>Yocunpat</i>	Coyote	<i>Luechendu</i>
Luna	<i>Chip</i>	Tigre	<i>Luichiayaa</i>
Estrella	<i>Nohuu</i>	Oso	<i>Luichansaa</i>
Dia	<i>Naschuhee</i>	León, puma	<i>Luichiatiuy</i>
Noche	<i>Nachunju</i>	Zorra	<i>Tiundu</i>
Mañana	<i>Nityu</i>	Tejón	<i>Lueschaa</i>
Tarde	<i>Matuma</i>	Ciervo	<i>Sonducho</i>
Primavera	<i>Daacachi</i>	Jabalí	<i>Luechucundea</i>
Verano	<i>Ditaycundui</i>	Armadillo	<i>Luechio</i>
Invierno	<i>Ditaenpuchujin</i>	Raton	<i>Teochit</i>
Viento	<i>Simanchuhe</i>	Conejo	<i>Tiusu</i>
Trueno	<i>Sihy</i>	Ardilla	<i>Tuipsu</i>
Relámpago	<i>Dicodunduit</i>	Tortuga	<i>Lubi</i>
Lluvia	<i>Cobataa</i>	Lagartija	<i>Cuchucuan</i>
Nieve	<i>Nitohuasaa</i>	Caballo	<i>Luesho</i>
Fuego	<i>Maachun</i>	Mosca	<i>Sunp</i>
Agua	<i>Daatio</i>	Mosquito	<i>Luetaa</i>
Hielo	<i>Chucunyaen</i>	Sapo	<i>Luecu</i>
Tierra	<i>Sohot</i>	Culebra, serpiente	<i>Luechuchaa</i>
Mar	<i>Daadoe</i>	Culebra de cascabel	<i>Luehundoo</i>
Rio	<i>Sujop</i>	Alacran	<i>Luechojoo</i>
Lago	<i>Sujoy</i>	Ave	<i>Luesaa</i>
Valle	<i>Nochujun</i>		

Huevo	<i>Tigueschuen</i>	Hoy	<i>Seguam</i>
Plumas	<i>Sec</i>	Ayer	<i>Huaja</i>
Alas	<i>Senguiho</i>	Mañana (el día de)	<i>Yu</i>
Ganso	<i>Huicancho</i>	Sí	<i>Llaa</i>
Pato	<i>Luetan</i>	No	<i>Tiáa</i>
Zopilote	<i>Esten</i>	Uno	<i>Vncui</i>
Cuervo	<i>Suincondie</i>	Dos	<i>Huquee</i>
Guajalote	<i>Cholo</i>	Tres	<i>Dee</i>
Paloma	<i>Luetup</i>	Cuatro	<i>Nunquee</i>
Pez	<i>Luetusaa</i>	Cinco	<i>Vun</i>
Bobo, pescado	<i>Luetsca</i>	Seis	<i>Ynu</i>
Anguila	<i>Luichi</i>	Siete	<i>Diquee</i>
Nombre	<i>Suiyucho</i>	Ocho	<i>V-n-m</i>
Blanco	<i>Naquichi</i>	Nueve	<i>Ni-jin</i>
Negro	<i>Luento</i>	Diez	<i>Ynqui</i>
Colorado	<i>Nat hiique</i>	Once	<i>Ynquichucuy</i>
Azul celeste	<i>Nat sumaa</i>	Doce	<i>Ynquichohnie</i>
Amarillo	<i>Najan</i>	Veinte	<i>Diquihit</i>
Verde	<i>Nathuy</i>	Treinta	<i>Dinquinchuqui</i>
Grande	<i>Top maa</i>	Cuarenta	<i>Huenaa</i>
Fuerte	<i>Nihuitna</i>	Cincuenta	<i>Huenaachunqui</i>
Viejo	<i>Ditijio</i>	Sesenta	<i>Denaachunqui</i>
Jóven	<i>Yuchonit</i>	Setenta	<i>Denaachunqui</i>
Bueno	<i>Lolarot</i>	Ochenta	<i>Niquenaa</i>
Malo	<i>Huinat</i>	Noventa	<i>Ninquenaachoqui</i>
Muerto	<i>Sohoo</i>	Ciento	<i>Unnaa</i>
Vivo	<i>Banut</i>	Comer	<i>Tachincuaa</i>
Frio	<i>Teln</i>	Beber	<i>Chincuaa</i>
Caliente	<i>Minat</i>	Correr	<i>Luenanut</i>
Yo	<i>Taa</i>	Bailar	<i>Luechymut</i>
Tú	<i>Nuhu</i>	Cantar	<i>Cataa</i>
Él	<i>Chahuua</i>	Dormir	<i>Luchuu</i>
Nosotros	<i>Masoja</i>	Hablar	<i>Cuanp</i>
Vosotros	<i>Taa</i>	Ver	<i>Coquindidu</i>
Ellos	<i>Chaguaa</i>	Amar	<i>Tanduee</i>
Este	<i>Naquam</i>	Matar	<i>Luichicuee</i>
Aquel	<i>Cuichinaguua</i>	Sentarse	<i>Cupmaa</i>
Todo, todos	<i>Huachauijop</i>	Estar en pie, par-	
Mucho, muchos	<i>Dindee</i>	arse	<i>Cundiju</i>
Quien	<i>Ninatin</i>	Ir	<i>Cajaa</i>
Léjos	<i>Lina</i>	Venir	<i>Dendiut</i>
Cerca de	<i>Dion</i>	Andar	<i>Cocaa</i>
Aquí	<i>Dojo</i>	Trabajar	<i>Luisaapchinaa</i>
Alla	<i>Dom</i>	Robar	<i>Sanhuee</i>

Mentir	<i>Sacantu</i>	Gorjear	<i>Otaaquiza</i>
Dar	<i>Linaap</i>	Voluntad	<i>Nanucochun</i>
Reir	<i>Lujup</i>	Memoria	<i>Nadaasquen</i>
Gritar	<i>Luitisuaa</i>	Pensamiento	<i>Machitiyuh</i>
Bramar	<i>Tisuhaa</i>	Bondad	<i>Sanhuayasaha</i>
Ladrrar	<i>Cuchucui</i>	Amor	<i>Tadiduchu</i>
Cacarear	<i>Cutisuagutujun</i>	Olvido	<i>Docochuchut</i>
Tronar	<i>Conaha</i>	Verdad	<i>Amayut</i>
Gotear	<i>Lutucuudea</i>	Razon	<i>Nuhiimamama</i>
Charlar	<i>Diquinisaham</i>	Pereza	<i>Dinini</i>
Lloviznar	<i>Dachuscaha</i>		

III. MAZATEC STOCK (*Familia Mazateca*)

We do not affiliate the five languages of this stock (Chocho, Popoloco, Trique, Mazateco, and Ixcateco) with others and will call them Mazatecan. Our reasons are: All five are closely related, as may be seen by the list given at the end of this section. It has been variously claimed that one or all of these languages are related to Mixtec, but this has never been proved. We can find no such relationships from a study of our vocabularies.

I. CHOCHO

Orozco y Berra says of Chocho:

Lengua hermana de la mixteca. En Oaxaca lleva el nombre de *chocho*; en Puebla el de *popoloco*; en Guerrero el de *tlapaneco*; en Michoacan *teco*; en Guatemala *pupuluc*: es el antiguo *yope*. La nacion que usaba de esta habla parece ser una de las mas antiguas del país.

His list of pueblos does not quite agree with ours. We have vocabularies from Coixtlahuaca, Jicotlan, San Jeronimo Otlá, and Tlapeltepec, all in the district of Coixtlahuaca. In the district of Teposcolulu, from Santa María Tamazulapan and San Antonio, neither of which is given by Orozco y Berra. His area, however, is practically the same as the one given on our map. That given by Belmar corresponds in general with ours. He describes it as follows:

Los Chochos, llamados tambien popolocos, habitan los Distritos de Coixtlahuaca y Teposcolula, y limitan con los mixteca y los popoloca y chuchones del Estado de Puebla.

Speaking of Chocho and Popoloco, Pimentel says:

Tambien el Popoloco de Puebla es un dialecto distinto del Chochon, aunque muy parecido, segun puedo juzgarse por la siguiente comparacion de los adjetivos numerales que he podido recoger en los dos dialectos.

	CHUCHON	POPOLOCO
uno	<i>ngu</i>	<i>gou</i>
dos	<i>yuu-rina</i>	<i>yuu</i>
tres	<i>ni-rina</i>	<i>nii</i>
cuatro	<i>nuu-rina</i>	<i>noo</i>
cinco	<i>nau-rina</i>	<i>nag-hou</i>
seis	<i>njau-rina</i>	<i>tja</i>
siete	<i>yaatu-rina</i>	<i>yaata</i>
ocho	<i>nh-rina</i>	<i>gnii</i>
nueve	<i>naa-rina</i>	<i>na</i>
diez	<i>te-rina</i>	<i>tie</i>

La terminacion *rina*, en Chuchon, parece ser un signo de adjetivo numeral.

This dialectic difference exists not only in Puebla but in the Popoloco villages of Oaxaca, where there seems to be a difference from the adjacent Chocho villages. It comes out quite clearly in Dr Peñañiel's vocabularies, some of which bear the name Popoloco, while others are termed Chocho. This list shows the relationship thus brought out.

	CHOCHO	POPOLOCO
uno	<i>gu</i>	<i>ngu</i>
dos	<i>yu</i>	<i>nie</i>
tres	<i>nie</i>	<i>nnuu</i>
cuatro	<i>nuo</i>	<i>lluun</i>
cinco	<i>yun</i>	<i>illun</i>
seis	<i>isan</i>	<i>lläddä</i>
siete	<i>yadan</i>	<i>illin</i>
ocho	<i>yusis</i>	<i>nnä</i>
nueve	<i>naa</i>	<i>te</i>
diez	<i>tee</i>	<i>taon</i>
lluvia	<i>ichin</i>	<i>chai</i>
agua	<i>inda</i>	<i>inda</i>
hielo	<i>cinda</i>	<i>yaa</i>
tierra	<i>inche</i>	<i>nunde</i>
mar	<i>indaxaum</i>	<i>nduillon</i>
rio	<i>imda</i>	<i>inda</i>
pecho	<i>naquin</i>	<i>ndaquin</i>
hueso	<i>inda</i>	<i>inda</i>

Belmar does not seem to find this distinction, but calls those found in Pueblo, Popolocos. León considers them the same, while

Starr is rather inclined to think that Popoloco is the name of the language, Chochos the name of the people. The names given in Peñafiel's vocabularies may accidentally happen to coincide with only a minor dialectic difference.

These two languages are usually classed as members of the Mixtec-Zapotec family, with closer affiliation with Mixtec than with Zapotec. Pimentel says:

Lo que si puedo asentar, sin temor de equivocarme, y mas interesante á mi objeto, es que el Popoloco y el Chuchon pertenecen á la familia Mixteco-Zapoteco: tal es la opinion de todos los conocedores de esos idiomas, y esa opinion la encuentro confirmada por las comparaciones que he podido hacer, y de que presento las siguientes muestras.

His comparison, which follows, is not confined to any two languages, but any two of the four—Popoloco, Chocho, Mixteco, and Zapoteco. Since we do not consider Zapotecan as belonging to the same family, we will leave it out of consideration.

Pimentel does not state from what sources he draws his Chocho or Popoloco vocabularies; however, they show great diversity from those we have examined, which latter, however, are quite uniform for vocabularies of this class.

The following is Pimentel's list of Chocho-Mixteco comparisons:

P=Popoloco; *M*=Mixteco; *C*=Chocho

Padre	<i>P. Dutua</i>	<i>M. Dzutu</i>
	<i>C. Táa</i>	<i>M. Táa</i>
Hermano	<i>P. Tzi-kichie</i>	<i>M. Kuhua</i>
Mano	<i>P. Duteni</i>	<i>M. Nani</i>
Cielo	<i>C. Nganhuina</i>	<i>M. Andehui</i>
Dia	<i>C. Methi</i>	<i>M. Dehui</i>
Luna	<i>P. Yaa</i>	<i>M. Yoo</i>
Mundo	<i>P. Ye</i>	<i>M. Yehui</i>
Maiz	<i>P. Naua</i>	<i>M. Nuni</i>
Piedra	<i>P. Choo</i>	<i>M. Chuu</i>
Azul	<i>P. Yuhua</i>	<i>M. Sandayuhua</i>
Dos	<i>P. Yuu</i>	<i>M. Uhui</i>
Tres	<i>P. Nii</i>	<i>M. Uni</i>
Cinco	<i>P. Naghou</i>	<i>M. Hoho</i>
Ocho	<i>P. Gnii</i>	<i>M. Una</i>
Yo	<i>P. Snia</i>	<i>M. Ndi</i>
Tu	<i>P. Daha</i>	<i>M. Doho</i>

Nosotros	C. <i>Nau</i>	M. <i>Ndoo</i>
Comer	P. <i>Asindie</i>	M. <i>Yosasindi</i>
Ver	C. <i>Tiyku</i>	M. <i>Yotiso</i>
Oler	C. <i>Chituni</i>	M. <i>Yotnani</i>
Si	C. <i>Haau</i>	M. <i>Dzahua</i>

It may be inferred from the method which he employs of comparing now with Zapotec, now with Mixtec, that his list has been selected to bring out striking resemblances or unmistakable evidences of relationship, but apparently they do not exist. Of a list of twenty-three words there are only eight which can be considered as showing any relationship, namely:

Padre	P. <i>Dutua</i>	M. <i>Dzutu</i>
	C. <i>Táa</i>	M. <i>Táa</i>
luna	P. <i>Yaa</i>	M. <i>Yoo</i>
mundo	P. <i>Ye</i>	M. <i>Ye-hui</i>
piedra	P. <i>Choo</i>	M. <i>Chuu</i>
azul	P. <i>Yuhua</i>	M. <i>Sanda-yuhua</i>
tu	P. <i>Daha</i>	M. <i>Doho</i>
comer	P. <i>Asindie</i>	M. <i>Yos-asindi</i>

For the time being, it seems safer to await further evidence before combining these languages in one group, although their relationship is not unlikely.

2. MAZATECO

Mazateco is spoken at the north of Cuicateco on the Vera Cruz border. All agree on this locality. Our vocabularies come from the following places:

District of Teotitlan:	District of Tuxtepec:
San Lorenzo Cuaunelcuilitla.	Jalapa de Diaz.
Huautla de Jiminez.	San Miguel Soyaltepec.
Huchuetlan San Francisco.	San Pedro Ixcatlan.

Orozco y Berra says:

En el departamento de Teotitlan, formando una pequeña fraccion en el límite con el Estado de Vera Cruz. El mazateco está todavía por clasificar.

Dr Starr says that the Mazatecs are found in the Districts of Cuicatlan and Teotitlan. He is evidently wrong in omitting Tuxtepec, for some of Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies come from that district. It is known that several of the villages in the District of

Tuxtepec are Mazatec, for the writer obtained vocabularies from Mazatec Indians who came to Tuxtepec to trade. It is quite probable, however, that a few Mazatecas are found in the District of Cuicatlan. Belmar gives Teotitlan and Tuxtepec, as we do. He divides the Mazatecan language into two dialects—Mazateco and Izcateco. The difference is quite strong between Izcateco and Mazateco in Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies, as is shown in the comparison at the end of this stock. Dr Peñafiel's Izcateco vocabularies are two in number, one from Izcatlan Santa María in the District of Teotitlan, and the other from Izcatlan in the District of Tuxtepec.

Mazateco has been classed by most authors as a member of the Zapoteco-Mixteco stock. Orozco y Berra was not able to classify it, but Pimentel, speaking of Solteco and Mazateco, says:

Estas dos lenguas se hablan en Oaxaca. Las noticias que sobre ellas he recibido me hacen creer que pertenecen á la familia mixteco-zapoteco, opinion que encuentro confirmando respecto al mazateco, examinando el PATER que inserto adelante en dos dialectos, pues encuentro algunas voces análogas á las correspondencias de los idiomas mixteco-zapotecos ya he estudiados.

He gives no proofs, however.

In *The American Race* Brinton places not only Mazateco but all the other members of this stock in the Zapotec-Mixtec linguistic stock; but in a paper read before the American Philosophical Society¹ he classes it differently. No one, except Lehmann, who has since written on the stocks of Oaxaca, has paid the slightest attention to this paper. In his paper Brinton points out the relationship with Chapanec of Chiapas and denies the affinities with the Zapotec-Mixtec stock, which he had previously claimed for it.

In his *Lenguas Indígenas de México*, Belmar places it in the familiar Mixteco-Zapoteco, but seemingly without proof. Thomas and Swanton say:

Orozco y Berra did not attempt to classify the language, but Pimentel was inclined to refer it to the "Mixteco-Zapoteco" stock or what is here termed the Zapotecan family. This assignment is now universally accepted by students.

¹ *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for 1892*, and *South American Languages*, Philadelphia, 1892.

The following vocabulary in the four languages which we consider comprise the stock is sufficient to establish their relationships. Popoloco and Chocho may be considered as two dialects of the same language; their relationship has been shown above.

	CHOCHO	TRIKE	MAZATECO	IXCATECO
uno	<i>gu</i>	<i>goo</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>namcuu</i>
dos	<i>yu</i>	<i>hui</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>lluju</i>
tres	<i>nie</i>	<i>huanen</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>niegjhe</i>
cuatro	<i>nuo</i>	<i>kahan</i>	<i>nuju</i>	<i>nugjhuh</i>
cinco	<i>yun</i>	<i>hunhug</i>	<i>hu</i>	<i>irshun</i>
seis	<i>isun</i>	<i>guatan</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>irshun</i>
siete	<i>yadam</i>	<i>chihi</i>	<i>yato</i>	<i>yatu</i>
ocho	<i>yusin</i>	<i>tehn</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>gnuhe</i>
nueve	<i>nia</i>	<i>hnhn</i>	<i>naya</i>	<i>hiejhheh</i>
diez	<i>tec</i>	<i>chihc</i>	<i>teh</i>	<i>uten</i>
lluvia	<i>ichin</i>	<i>anmha</i>	<i>tsinshajo</i>	<i>dteuibrsti</i>
agua	<i>inda</i>	<i>nehe</i>	<i>di-ujua</i>	<i>ynda</i>
hielo	<i>cinda</i>	<i>yacohui</i>	<i>chaa</i>	<i>dehahn</i>
tierra	<i>inche</i>	<i>yhuo</i>	<i>nanqui</i>	<i>ningitlcheeh</i>
mar	<i>indaxaum</i>	<i>nehac</i>	<i>pachucu</i>	<i>ndalamar</i>
rio	<i>imda</i>	<i>chaa</i>	<i>dana</i>	<i>yntndar</i>
calabaza	<i>chu</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>nachu</i>	<i>chuh</i>
frijol	<i>uima</i>	<i>rüne</i>	<i>ñiguma</i>	<i>gmaah</i>
murciélago	<i>uningo</i>	<i>chunhu</i>	<i>ñungu</i>	<i>unungu</i>
templo	<i>ningo</i>	<i>navi</i>	<i>ningushi</i>	<i>nu ungu</i>
pecho	<i>naquim</i>	<i>chiha</i>	<i>nizin</i>	<i>chaacq-jeen</i>
hueso	<i>inda</i>	<i>cu</i>	<i>ninda</i>	<i>ingdia</i>

3. TRIQUE (TRIKE)

Our Trique vocabulary comes from San Juan Copala.

Orozco y Berra places Trique in quite another part of Oaxaca—in the district of Tehuantepec. He says:

Idioma sin clasificar. En la relación de los curatos las cuatro poblaciones que hablan el triqui están confundidas entre las chontales, lo cual no es exacto.

He is evidently wrong in his location of this tribe, for all other authors disagree with him. Sr Belmar marks approximately the same area on his map as we do on ours. In describing their distribution he says:

En la sierra de los mixteca, y en los distritos de Tlaxiaco y Juxtlahuaca habita la tribu *trique*, rodeada enteramente por los mixteca.

Orozco y Berra gives Copala and Chicahuastla as their principal villages. The former is the one from which Dr Peñafiel's vocabulary comes.

Dr Starr's area agrees with Sr Belmar's and our own. Starr gives the following five villages: San Andrés Chicahuastla, Santo Domingo Chicahuastla, San José Chicahuastla, San Martín Ytunyoso, and Copala.

Trique clearly belongs to the Mazatecan stock, as can be seen by the comparative vocabulary given at the end of this section.

IV. CHINANTEC STOCK (*Familia Chinanteca*)

CHINANTEC

The Chinantec stock, spoken in the northern part of Oaxaca, consists of a single language. It is surrounded by Mazateco, Cuicateco, Zapoteco, and Mexican. The vocabularies of Dr Peñafiel come from the districts of Choapan and Tuxtepec; he has, unfortunately, none from the District of Ixtlan, which according to the last census (1910) has many Chinantecos.

District of Tuxtepec:

San Pedro Loochiapa.

San Antonio Analco.

Santiago Tlatepusco.

Santa Cruz Tepetotutla.

San Juan Bautista Valle Nacional.

San Felipe Usila.

San Lucas Ojitlán.

District of Choapan:

Leatao San Juan.

Orozco y Berra gives the following list of pueblos:

TEOTALCINGO

Petlapa.

Toavela.

Lovani.

Tepinapa.

Tocotepec.

Lachisola.

YOLOS, SAN PEDRO

Comaltepec.

Totomoztla.

Quiotepec.

Mineral de San José.

Temextitlan.

San Francisco, las Llagas.

Lacova.	Santa María de las Nieves.
Lelana.	Maninaltepec.
	Tetitlan.

VALLE NACIONAL	TLACOATZINTEPEC	TEPETOTUTLA
Ozumasin.	Quesalpa.	Soochiapa.
Yetla.	Analco San Antonio.	Tlatepuzcos, San Pedro.
Jacatepec.	Tetitlan.	Zapotitlan, San Juan.
Chiltepec.		Zautla.
Usila.		Tecomaltepec.
Tlatepuzcos.		San Antonio del Barrio.
Mayoltianguiz.		

He places Ojitlan with the Mazatecan villages—an evident error, for in addition to Dr Peñafiel's vocabulary from Ojitlan, the writer recorded two, and both of the informants said that Chinantec is the only language spoken there. A vocabulary was obtained also from Chiltepec. In general, however, Orozco y Berra's area is the same as ours. In this connection, he writes:

Chinanteco. En el Departamento de Teotitlan. La Chinantla, con su cabecera del mismo nombre, era un provincia mexicana; los habitantes eran feroces y guerreros; usaban de lanzas de demesurado tamaño para combatir, manejándolas con destreza y seguridad: desde muy temprano se mostraron amigos de los castellanos.

Brinton's description is:

The Chinantecs inhabited Chinantla, which is a part of the State of Oaxaca, situated in the Sierra Madre, on the frontiers of the Province of Vera Cruz. Their neighbors on the South were the Zapotecs and Mixes, on the North and East the Nahuas. They lived in secluded valleys and on rough mountain sides.

The following is quoted from Belmar:

Los Chinanteca

En la parte Norte del Estado de Oaxaca se encuentra el territorio conocido con el nombre de la *Chinantla*, comprendiendo parte de los Distritos de Ixtlán, Choapan, Cuicatlán, Teotitlán, Villa-Alta y Tuxtepec. En este territorio se haya repartida la nación *chinanteca*, y tiene como principales centros de población Yolox, Jocotepec y Usila. Los *chinanteca* confinan con los mixteca, mazateca, mexicana, zapoteca y *ayooks* (mixes). El número de individuos que componen esta raza según los datos estadísticos, es de 18,051.

"The towns of the Chinantecs," says Dr Starr, "are in the Districts of Chicatlan and Villa Alta of Oaxaca. García y Cubas

in 1876 claimed 12,000 population." We have no vocabularies from Cuicatlan or Villa Alta, but we have two from Tuxtepec and Choapan.

Pimentel makes this statement:

Hervás en su *Catálogo de las lenguas conocidas*, considera que el Chinanteco es afín del zapoteco, así como el mazateco. Respecto á este idioma estoy conforme con la opinión de Hervás, según lo que anteriormente he manifestado; pero del Chinanteco no encuentro ni muestras que estudiar, ni noticias exactas sobre su filiación. Burgoa en su *Historia Geográfica*, habla del Chinanteco como de un idioma áspero y violento, lo cual no conviene con el zapoteco que es dulce y suave. Sin embargo, como el acento puede cambiar sin alterarse el fondo de un idioma, no es decisiva la indicación de Burgoa, y en consecuencia, admitirnos al Chinanteco en la familia mixteco-zapoteco aunque en el concepto de *dudoso* en su clasificación.

It hardly seems right to classify a language in a family, even with the "concept of doubt," when neither material by which to judge it nor any notices concerning its classification is found.

Brinton discusses the language both in *The American Race* and in his paper read before the American Philosophical Society, January 15, 1892. Therein he describes the language and, noting its entire dissimilarity of morphology and words to the surrounding idioms, reaches the conclusion that it is the only representative of a linguistic stock. In *The American Race* Brinton quotes Berendt in the following words:

Spoken in the midst of a diversity of languages connected more or less among themselves, it is itself unconnected with them, and is rich in peculiar features both as to roots and its grammatical structure. It is probable that we have in it one of the original languages spoken before the advent of the Nahuas on Mexican soil, perhaps the mythical Olmeca.

León considers Chinantec as belonging to the Mixtecan-Zapotecan family, on what ground is not known, as he presents no new evidence nor does he quote his authorities. Belmar likewise puts it in the Mixteco-Zapotecan family, and also fails to present adequate proofs. Thomas and Swanton, however, consider it as the sole representative of the Chinantec stock.

The Chinantec vocabularies collected by Dr Peñafiel have been compared with those collected by him from the surrounding stocks, particularly Mazateco, Mixteco, and Zapoteco, but no resemblance

between them could be found. It seems impossible to classify Chinanteco as a member of the Zapotec stock, as other authors have done, therefore Brinton's classification is followed and its independence as a stock language retained.

V. CHONTAL STOCK (*Familia Chontal*)

CHONTAL

Chontal is spoken in a small area close to the Pacific ocean in the districts of Tehuantepec and Yautepec. The towns in which it is spoken are scattered among the Zapotec settlements. Our vocabularies come from the following places:

District of Tehuantepec:	District of Yautepec:
Tequistlan.	Santa María Ecatepec.
Huamelula.	Santa Lucía Mecaltepec.
	Santa María Candelaria.
	Chontecomatlan.

Orozco y Berra says it is spoken in the Department of Tlacolula and gives the following villages:

Ecatepec, Santa María:	
Teipan.	Peña.
Jilotepequillo.	Jamiltepec.
Acatepec.	Tecolotepec.
Chontecomatlan.	Candelaria.
Tlahuilotepc.	Suchiltepec.
Ixcotepec.	Topiltepec.
Mecaltepec	Tlacolulita.
Chongo.	Ecaltepec, San Miguel.
Sosoltepec.	Alotepec.
Chiltepec.	Zapotitlan.
Petacaltepec.	Tepalcatepec.

Belmar describes their distribution in the following manner:

Estos pueblos en el Estado de Oaxaca comprendían en tiempo del régimen colonial el partido llamado chontales, cuya cabecera fué el pueblo de Santa María Ecatepec. Se extendían de Oriente á Poniente de Huamelula. . . .

En la actualidad dicha nación chontal se haya extendida en el Estado de Oaxaca, en los distritos de Yautepec y Tehuantepec.

Los chontales se encuentran al Sureste de la cabecera de Yautepec, dis-

frutando de los diferentes climas, según la fragosidad de sus terrenos, y rodeados por los mixes, los zapoteca y los zoque, de cuyos usos y costumbres participan.

Regarding the Chontal and their language Dr Starr says:

An unfortunate confusion exists regarding these people. Orozco y Berra is partly to blame for it; Brinton has increased the confusion by an attempt to remove it. Orozco's error is in calling some of the more important Chontal towns Trique: he also gives a list of real Chontal towns, but at the same time introduces at least one Zapotec town into the list,—Tlacolulita. The Oaxaca Chontals live in the District of Tehuantepec. Brinton claims that Chontal is a misnomer: that it is a word meaning stranger, and not a tribal name, and that it is equally applicable to many different tribes. That the word is Aztec, meaning stranger, is true: that the word may be applicable to various tribes may be true, though not yet proved. That the name is regularly and consistently applied to the towns of Oaxaca above indicated is certain; that the people living in these towns call themselves Chontals, and speak one and the same language which they call Chontal, is also certain.

In view of these facts it seems better to discontinue the use of the name Tequixtlatecan, both for the stock and its languages. Concerning the affiliation of Chontal much difference of opinion exists. Orozco y Berra classed it as a member of the Mayan family; Pimentel considered it a separate stock; both León and Belmar regarded it as a member of the Nahuatl stock, while Brinton thought it probably belongs in the Yuman. Thomas and Swanton make no statement regarding its relationship. As no Yuman material was at hand the writer will call it a separate stock, for no resemblance to Mexican or to Maya is apparent.

VI. HUAVE STOCK (*Familia Huave*)

HUAVE

Huave is spoken in a few villages in the districts of Juchitan and Tehuantepec on the Pacific coast. The vocabularies of Dr Peñafiel come from the following towns:

District of Juchitlan:

San Francisco Hixhuatán.

San Dionisio del Mar.

Santa María del Mar.

District of Tehuantepec:

San Mateo del Mar.

Orozco y Berra lists these four towns and Ixhuatlan. Juan de Torres, writing in 1580, described them as living in the same locality

which they now inhabit. Belmar gives the same villages as Orozco y Berra, but says: "Ixhuatlán se haya abandonado en la actualidad." Dr Starr confirms this in the following words:

They have today but four villages, San Mateo del Mar, Santa María del Mar, San Francisco del Mar, and San Dionisio del Mar. Ixhuatan, mentioned by Orozco, has long been abandoned. We can say nothing of the language but present a brief vocabulary. The people are conservative and are rarely visited by white men. Their towns lie at the edges of, or near, long and narrow, shallow lagoons of salt water reaching inland from the Pacific Ocean.

A great deal of difference of opinion exists over the classification of Huave. Orozco y Berra did not know how to classify it, but believed it to be related to some linguistic family in Guatemala, for what reason he does not say. His statement follows:

Su lengua es diferente de las otras que se hablan en México: *huave* hemos visto que la nombran en los libros consultados, solo el MS. de Juan de Torres la llama guazonteca (huazonteca), por lo cual le damos ambas denominaciones: no la hemos clasificado y creemos que corresponde á alguna de las familias de Guatemala.

Dr León places it in the family Maya-Quicheana. Belmar also believes it related to Maya and gives a list of words to prove it, but there does not seem to be much similarity between Maya and Huave. Brinton was of the opinion that "the vocabularies of their tongue are too imperfect to permit identification." Thomas and Swanton believe that it constitutes a family in itself. "So far as is known," they say, "the language cannot be assigned to any recognized stock—therefore for the present it must remain as the representative of a distinct family." We agree with them in this and accordingly class it as a distinct stock.

VII. ZOQUE STOCK (*Familia Zoque*)

Mixe and Zoque are the only members of this family found in Oaxaca. Thomas and Swanton include Old Popoloco and Tapachula in the same family. They follow Berendt in regard to Popoloco, and Sapper in respect to Tapachula. As we have no material from these two languages we cannot render an opinion. The resemblance and the relationship between Mixe and Zoque is so close and so well established that it is needless to quote vocabularies.

I. ZOQUE

Zoque is spoken in the extreme eastern portion of Oaxaca and in the adjoining districts of Chiapas and Tabasco. When treating of their distribution, Orozco y Berra says:

Los Zoques se encuentran derramados en Chiapas, Tabasco, y Oaxaca, tienen al Norte el mexicano y el chontal, al Este el tzendal, el tzotzil y el chiapanico, al Sur el mexicano y al Oeste el huave, el zapoteco, y el mixe.

He gives the following list of Zoque villages in Oaxaca:

Chimalapa, San Miguel.	Zanatepec, Santo Domingo.
Chimalapa, Santa María.	Niltepec, Santiago.
	Tapana, San Pedro.

Dr Peñafiel's vocabularies come from San Miguel Chimalapa and Santa María Chimalapa of the district of Juchitan. They are the first two of Orozco y Berra's list.

2. MIXE

Mixe is spoken to the west of Zoque. We are particularly well informed about the names of their villages, having the lists of Orozco y Berra, Belmar, and Peñafiel.

The latter's vocabularies come from the following places:

District of Choapan:	District of Villa Alta:
Atitlan.	Mixistlan.
Puxmeteca.	Santa María Asunción Totontepec.
District of Juchitan:	San Pablo Ayutla.
San Juan Guichicovi.	Tlahuitolotepec.
District of Tehuantepec:	San Cristobal Chichicaxtepec.
Mazatlan San Juan.	District of Yautepec:
	Cacalotepec.
	San Miguel Quetzaltepec.

Belmar has made a thorough study of the Mixe and gives the following villages. Those found in our list are indicated by an asterisk.

District of Choapan:	Parroquia de Puxmetecán:
Parroquia de Atitlán:	Puxmetecán* Cotzocón
Atitlán*	Zacatepec Ozolotepec Chisme
Alotepec	Metaltepec Candayoc
Ayacastepec	Parroquia de Ayutla:*
	Ayutla* Tamazulapam
	Tepuxtepec Tlahuilotepec*
	Tepantlalli

District of Juchitán:		District of Yautepec:	
Guichicovi*		Parroquia de Juquila:	
District of Tehuantepec:		Cacalotepec*	Ocotepec
Acatlán	Mazatlán*	Acatlancito	
Chimaltepec	Tutla	Parroquia de Quezaltepec:*	
Malacatepec		Canotlán	Ixcuintepec
District of Villa Alta:		Huitepec	Coatlán
Parroquia de Chichicaxtepec:*		Parroquia de Jilotepec:	
Tiltepec	Huitepec	Jilotepec	Nazaviguiti
Mixestlán*	Metepec	Agua Blanca	Lachixonase
Yacochi			
Parroquia de Totonepec:			
Amatepec	Tonagula		
Moctun	Jayacastepec		
Tipitongo	Ocotepec		
Jareta			

Orozco y Berra's list corresponds closely with this. It is as follows:

Acatlan San Pedro	Metepec
Tutla	Puxmecatan
Mazatlan	Candayó
Malacatepec	Cotzocon
Chimaltepec	Chisme
Atitlan	Guichicovi, San Juan
Sacatepec	Boca de Monte
Alotepec	Jilotepec Santiago
Metaltepec	Agua blanca
Ayacaxtepec	Jilotepec San Pedro
Ayutla	Jilotepec San Sebastian
Tepustepec	Jilotepec San Cruz
Tamasulapan	Nizaviquinta
Tepantlali	Lachixonaxe
Tlahuitoltepec	Juquila
Chichicastepec	Cacalotepec
Mixistlan	Ocotepec
Huitepec, Santa María	Acatlacinto
Tiltepec	Lachixila
Yacochi	Quiavicusas

Xovaquia	Totontepec
Lachixela	Jazacastepec
Quetzaltepec	Amatepec
Coatlan	Jareta
Camotlan	Tonogua
Camollan	Ocatepec
Ixcuintepec	Tepitongo
Huitepec	Moetun

VIII. MEXICAN STOCK (*Familia Mexicana*)

MEXICAN (AZTEC)

Dr Peñafiel has five Mexican vocabularies. They come from the following places:

District of Silacayoapam:	District of Tuxtepec:
Santa Ana Rayón	Tuxtepec
District of Teotitlan:	District of Pochutla:
Santa María Teopoxco	Pochutla
San Martin Toxpalan	

These five vocabularies represent three distinct dialects. The three vocabularies from the districts of Silacayoapam and Teotitlan belong to the Puebla dialect, which is very similar to classical Mexican, or that dialect spoken in the valley of Mexico, the chief difference being that the glottal stop is replaced by an unvoiced palatal spirant.

The other two vocabularies represent quite distinct dialects.

The Tuxtepec Dialect

The dialect spoken in Tuxtepec shows many phonetic differences, among the most important being the use of *t* in Tuxtepec where the classical Mexican has *tl*. The absence of the saltillo is noticeable. Both *k* and *g* occur in the Tuxtepec dialect, where in the classical dialect only *k* occurs. Final *n* is dropped in Tuxtepec. Some of the differences of a morphological nature are: the retention of the *t* in the possessive form where it is dropped in the valley (*amat* paper, *nuamat* my paper, the classical correspondents being *amatl* and *namauh*); the absence, with one exception, of reduplicated plurals, such as *cocoa* plural of *coatl*, snake; the absence of the preterite form of the verb with an *o* augment.

During the writer's stay in Tuxtepec careful inquiry was made in regard to other possible Mexican villages nearby, but none was found. The nearest villages are all Chinantec, some of which are not much more than fifteen miles from Tuxtepec. The Mazatecan villages are much nearer than the nearest Mexican town.

Amatlan, lower down the river Popolhuapam, is the nearest Mexican town, and is distant about 75 miles. There were no informants whose services could be obtained, but the testimony of the people of Acoula, who still speak Mexican fluently, is that the two villages spoke the same dialect. Acoula is ten or fifteen miles distant from Amatlan. The dialect of Amatlan is quite different from Tuxtepec, although neither have the *tl* sound. In fact, it is quite probable that the dialects of most of the Mexican area did not have that sound. In the grammar of Cortés Zedeña, of the bishopric of Guadalupe, it is absent, and Dr Walter Lehmann finds it also absent from the Central American dialects. It probably does not occur in Chiapas and Tabasco, and it is absent in Pochutla.

Besides this feature, the Pochutla dialect shows many interesting differences from the classical dialect. Among the most important is the shifting of accent. For the classical dialect it is always on the antepenult; in the Pochutla dialect it is almost always on the ultima.

NAMES OF THE VILLAGES FROM WHICH PEÑAFIEL'S VOCABULARIES COME

I. FAMILIA ZAPOTECA:

1. Zapoteco.

Distrito del Centro.—San Bartola Coyotepec.

Distrito de Choapin.—Yahuive, Jaltepec.

Distrito de Ejutla.—Santa María Chichihualtepec, Coateces Altas, San Vicente Coatlan, San Martín Lachila, Santa Cruz Nixila, San Andrés Sabache.

Distrito de Jamiltepec.—San Antonio Ocotlan.

Distrito de Juchitán.—Juchitán, Espinal, Unión Hidalgo.

Distrito de Miahuatlan.—San Mateo Río Hondo, San Juan Mixtepec, San Agustín Mixtepec, San Luis Amatlán, San Pablo Coatlán, Santa María Coatlán, San Andrés

Paxtlán, Santiago Papagüía, Santiago Xanica, Santa María Ozolotepec, San Juan Ozolotepec, Santo Tomás Tamazulapan, Santa Caterina Cuixtla, Santa Cruz Ozolotepec.

Distrito de Ocotlan.—Ocotlan de Morelos, Santiago Apostol, Santa Ana Zegache, San Pedro Apostol, Ocotlan Magdalena, San Baltasar Chichicapan, Santa Lucía Ocatlan, San Miguel Tilquiapan, Santa Tomás Jeliéza, Santa Martín Tilcayeta.

Distrito de Pochutla.—Piñas San Mateo, San Juan Loxicha.

Distrito de Tehuantepec.—Tehuantepec, Tlacotepec, Jalapa del Estado.

Distrito de Tlacolula.—Tlacolula de Matamoros, Villa de Mitla, San Pablo Mitla, Tlacoahuaya, San Juan Teitepac, San Pedro Quiatoni, San Dionisio Ocotepec, Teotitlan del Valle, San Juan Guelavia, San Lucas Quiaviní, Santiago Matatlan, Santa María Albarradas.

Distrito de Tlaxiaco.—San Pedro el Alto, Yolotepec de la Paz, Chalcatongo, San Juan.

Distrito de Villa Alta.—Beltaza, Tanetze, Talea Lachiroag, Tabag, Yazona, San Francisco Cajonos, Zochila, Xagalaxi, Lachixila Vijanos.

Distrito de Zimatlán.—Zimatlán, Santa María Zachila, Huixtepec, Santa Cruz Mixtepec, Ayoquezco.

Distrito de Yautepec.—San Bartolo Yautepec, Santa María Asunción Quiegolani, Quiechapa.

2. Solteco.

Distrito de Villa.—Alvarez (Zimatlán), San Miguel Solo.

3. Chatino.

Distrito de Juquila.—San Juan Quiahije, Santa Cruz Tepenixtlahuaca, Santa María Tlapanalquiahuitl, San Juan Lachao, Zensontepec.

II. FAMILIA MIXTECA:

1. Mixteco.

Distrito de Huajuapán.—Huajolotitlan, Miltepec Santiago, Santiago Chazumba, San Martín Zacatepec, Tequistepec.

Distrito de Jamiltepec.—Jamiltepec.

Distrito de Juquila.—Tututepec.

Distrito de Juxtlahuaca.—Juxtlahuaca, San Juan Mixtepec, Tecomaxtlahuaca, San Juan Lagunas, Santiago Coycoyan, Santa Caterina Noltepec.

Distrito de Nochixtlan.—Nochixtlan, Yahuitlan, Santo Domingo, Yodocono Magdalena, Tilantongo Santiago, Magdalena Jaltepec, Apoala Santiago, Teozacoalo San Pedro, San Pedro Cantaros, Tecomatlan, San Miguel.

Distrito de Silacayoapan.—San Pedro, San Miguel Ahuehuetitlan, Calihuala, Tlapacingo San Francisco.

Distrito de Teotitlan.—San Juan Coatzopan.

Distrito de Teposcolulu.—San Vicente Nuña, San Pedro Martín Yucunana, Tlatayapan, Santa María Tiltepec.

2. Cuicateco.

Distrito de Cuicatlan.—Cuicatlan, Concepción Pápalo, San Francisco Chapulapa.

3. Amuzgo.

Distrito Jamiltepec.—San Pedro Amuzgos.

III. FAMILIA MAZATECA:

1A. Chocho.

Distrito de Coixtlahuaca.—Coixtlahuaca, Jicotlan Tequis-tepec, San Jerónimo Otlá, Tlapitepec.

Distrito de Teposcolulu.—Santa María Tamazulapan, San Antonio Acutla.

1B. Popoloco.

Distrito de Coixtlahuaca.—Coixtlahuaca, Santo Domingo Tepene.

2A. Mazateco.

Distrito de Teotollan.—San Lorenzo, Cuanelcuilitla, Huautla de Jimenez, Huechuetlan San Francisco.

Distrito de Tuxtepec.—Jalapa de Diaz, San Miguel Soyaltepec, San Pedro Ixcatlán.

2B. Ixcateco.

Distrito de Teotitlan.—Ixcatlán Santa María.

Distrito de Tuxtepec.—Ixcatlán.

3. Trique.

Distrito de Juxtlahuaca.—San Juan Copala.

IV. FAMILIA CHINANTECA:

1. Chinanteco.

Distrito de Tuxtepec.—San Pedro Loochiapa, San Antonio Analco, Santiago Tlatepusco, Santa Cruz Tepetotutla, San Juan Bautista valle Nacional, San Felipe Usila, San Lucas Ojitlan.

Distrito de Chiapam.—Leatao San Juan.

V. FAMILIA CHONTAL:

1. Chontal. Tequistlan.

Distrito de Tehuantepec.—Tequistlan, Huamelula.

Distrito Yautepec.—Santa María Ecatepec, Santa Lucía
Mecaltepec, Santa María Candelaria, Chontecomoatlan.

VI. FAMILIA HUAVE:

1. Huave.

Distrito de Juchitan.—San Francisco Hixhuatán, San
Dionisio del Mar, Santa María del Mar.

Distrito de Tehuantepec.—San Mateo del Mar.

VII. FAMILIA ZOQUE:

1. Mixe.

Distrito de Choapan.—Atitlan, Puxmetacan.

Distrito de Juchitan.—San Juan Guichicovi.

Distrito de Tehuantepec.—Mazatlan San Juan.

Distrito de Villa Alta.—Mixistlan, Santa María Asunción
Totontepec, San Pablo Ayutla, Tlahuitoltepec, San
Cristóbal Chichicaxtepec.

Distrito Yautepec.—Cacalotepec, San Miguel Quetzaltepec.

2. Zoque.

Distrito de Juchitan.—San Miguel Chimalapa, Santa María
Chimalapa.

VIII. FAMILIA MEXICANA:

1. Mexican.

Distrito de Pochutla.—Pochutla.

Distrito de Silacayoapam.—Santa Ana Rayón.

Distrito de Tuxtepec.—Tuxtepec.

Distrito de Teotilan.—Santa María Teopoxco, San Martín
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